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*The Clan Chisholm
and Allied Clans*



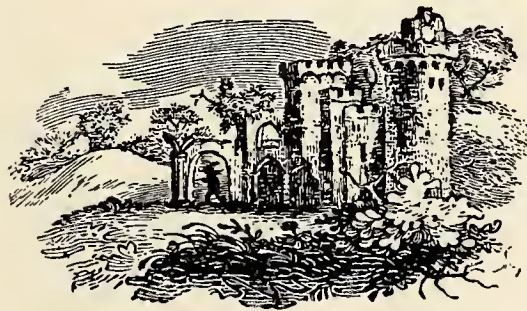
CHISHOLM

From a Mc Ian Print

THE
CLAN CHISHOLM
AND
ALLIED CLANS

COMPILED BY HARRIETTE F. THRASHER
FOR HUGH J. CHISHOLM

VOLUME THE FIRST
History and Genealogy



NEW YORK
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1935

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TO

MY FATHER

HUGH J. CHISHOLM

THIS BOOK

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ADDRESS OF FINGAL TO OSCAR

AN OSSIANIC POEM

*Son of my soul, so said the king,
Oscar, prince of youthful heroes,
Cleave thou fast to the fame of thine ancestors
And do not neglect to be like them.
Be as the rushing winter, spring-tide stream
Giving battle to the foes of the Fingalians;
But as the gentle, soothing summer breezes
To such as seek thy help.*

Preface

IT is an accepted fact that to exist there must be a reason for existing, and the *raison d'être* for this work lies in the author's firm belief that a people with no pride in the achievements of their ancestors, never achieve the worth to be remembered by their descendants. Therefore, each and every one who has the loyal spirit and noble blood of distinguished ancestors in his heart and veins, should seek to be informed of the greatness and fortunes of these progenitors that they may not lower the standard of a noble inheritance. The great Sir Francis Palgrave declares, "All the coöperating destinies of all our parents, no matter how distant, have produced us; they have entered into our flesh and blood; they were chosen for us; and all have made us what we are—their haps and hazards; their virtues and vices; their rewards and their inflictions."

It has been the writer's aim to offer, besides the usual chronological arrangement of families, dates, charters, and retours, an atmosphere of history, romance, and tradition in which the Chisholm line has been steeped for generations; to quicken the individuals herein recorded with a touch of human interest by the recital of tales of valor, or cruel tragedy; of noble sacrifice, or unholy revenge; of lofty ambition, or crafty intrigue; to re-awaken the echoes of the Highland pipes; the legendary songs of the strolling minstrels and the inspired bards of the glens; the clash of the claymores and the whirr of the English arrows; together with the flash of the Scottish Tartan and the glitter of armored knights.

Since in the veins of the Chisholms of Strathglass is the blood of ancient nobility mingling with the royal blood of kings, there will be found in the following chapters the Chisholm lineage traced back to English, French, Spanish, Scottish, Irish, and Norwegian royalty, including their own clan origin and clan connections.

In the compilation of these volumes, historical authorities of different nations, ages, and politics have been carefully studied and compared, wherever possible, for reciprocal correction. Family, church, and public records, charter chests, ancient documents, deeds and innumerable books of reference have been personally consulted in England, Scotland, Canada, and the United States, to form the basis for the accuracy of this work.

The writer wishes here to acknowledge the obligations she is under for all the valuable assistance furnished her. Expressions of sincere appreciation are espe-

Preface

cially due to Miss Mary Thornhill of Toronto, Canada, who has so generously contributed much valuable data; to Mrs. Theresa V. Pearson and Miss Imogen Pearson of Montreal for kindly supplying rare old family records; to many members of the clergy, both here and abroad, particularly Father J. A. Morgan of Niagara-on-the-Lake, Father Campbell of St. Rapheal, Canada, and Father Geddes of Cannich for information furnished from their parish registers; to his Grace, George Murry Stewart, Earl of Athol, K. T., for his courtesy in settling a debatable family connection; to William Warrenden Mackenzie, 1st Baron Amulree of St. Abbs, Berwickshire, Scotland, for his kindly interest in suggesting ways and means for solving a perplexing line of descent; to Hon. James Grant, Lord Lyon, Court of Lord Lyon, Edinburgh, Scotland, for his kindness in unearthing from among the archives in the Register House an ancient deed which established indisputable authority for an important family connection; to Capt. William Mackay, barrister of Inverness and trustee of the Chisholm estates, for his courtesy in permitting an inspection of Erchless Castle and numerous interesting family records; to Miss Helena Chisholm of London, England, daughter of the late Hon. Colin Chisholm, who aided immeasurably by permitting the writer to examine some of her father's valuable Scottish notes and records; to Mr. Thomas P. Phelan of Toronto, and his nephew, Mr. Frederick R. Phelan of Montreal, for information relative to the Phelan Family; to Rev. Archibald Macdonald, D.D., co-author of *Clan Donald*, for permitting the use of certain photographs contained in his splendid genealogy of the Macdonalds; to Hilaire Belloc, famous author and dramatist, for his gracious permission to quote from his masterly work on French history; and to Mrs. W. B. Davis of Exeter, N. H., for a similar favor accompanied by the consent of the publisher, Houghton Mifflin Company, relative to her late husband's *History of France*; to Dean Christian Gauss, Princeton University, and his publisher, D. Appleton and Co., for their courteous compliance with a request to use excerpts from *Bainville's History of France*, translated by Dean and Mrs. Gauss; to Miss Burbank and Miss Gould, Librarian and Assistant Librarian respectively of the Portland Public Library, and Miss Ethel Hall, Librarian of the Maine Historical Society, for their un-failing cooperation and assistance. To this list the writer would respectfully add the name of the late Hon. John Chisholm, Barrister of Cornwall, Ontario, whose kindly interest, advice, and encouragement will ever be held in grateful memory.

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*WHAT are we, now, that shiver in the cold sunlight
Of the present's notoriety?
What are we?*

*Who forged us in the fire of the long struggle
And ensconced us in our heritage?
Turn the page!*

*Turn back and follow the tenuous thread
Of history, follow it through the labyrinth of Time,
Down the Minoan pathways where the dead
Live in the dusk of their legends, follow and climb
Mountains of myths and causeways of untruths
To vivify again the youths
Who infused their bold blood
Into our own,
They, the known
Forebears, kings and chiefs, for good
Or evil have endowed us
With their legacy of strife,
Have stepped aside and bowed us
Onto the rostrum of life.*

H. J. C., JR., 1934

The Clan Chisholm

Outline of Highland History



BY way of an introduction to the genealogy of a family long connected with the Scottish Highlands, a brief history of the Highlands, its people, manners and customs, will give a clearer understanding and a finer appreciation of the early inhabitants and their life stories, which will be found in the succeeding chapters, than a chronicle of persons and events without a historical background.

To avoid repetition, many of the important incidents connected with Scottish history will be either lightly touched upon or entirely omitted in this outline, as they will appear in the more strictly genealogical section of this work.

The Caledonians, as they were called by the Roman historians, were the first known inhabitants of Scotland. They were a fierce, warlike race who occupied the territory north of the Forth and the Clyde. Whether the Picts, who later inhabited this same district, were their descendants or merely their successors is not positively known. By the beginning of the sixth century, we find the country divided into four distinct kingdoms. South of the Forth and the Clyde were the Welsh-speaking Celtic Britons of Strathclyde, and east of them, the Angles of Northumbria, the only one of the four not of Celtic origin. To the north of this line lay the small kingdom of the Dalriadic Scots, who, about the middle of the fifth century, had crossed over from Ireland under the leadership of Fergus, Lorn, and Angus, sons of Eric, king of Dalriada (Ulster), and settled in Argyllshire. It is from them that the country derived its name, the original Scotia being Ireland.¹ They were separated from the vast territory of the Picts, or Alban Gaels, by the Drumalban hills. The Picts were divided into two sections — the northern and southern Picts, the Grampian mountains forming the boundary line.

In 844, Kenneth MacAlpin, king of the Dalriada, but of Pictish blood on the spindle side, united forever the southern Picts and the Dalriadic Scots under one sovereign. This did not include the northern Picts, who, forming themselves into a confederacy, asserted their independence. Their

The Clan Chisholm

province, known as Moray, comprehended what is now Inverness-shire, and stretched from the river Spey on one side, and from Loch Lochy on the other to Caithness. Their rulers were called Mormaers.² Thus, "these Highlanders of Perthshire and Inverness-shire may be regarded as the purest representatives of the ancient Gaelic stock of Caledonia."³

The men of Moray were of a stubborn and indomitable character. Their struggle to maintain their independence continued, until, during the reign of King David I, they became finally subjected to the Scottish Crown. In 1034, when Shakespeare's "gentle Duncan" succeeded his grandfather, Malcolm II, the union of the four kingdoms was completed. In referring to the Norse conquests of Man and the Isles, Macdonald, in *Clan Donald*, declares that the admixture of the blood of the brave, old Vikings with the Celtic inhabitants of these islands "has produced some of the best types of Scottish Highlanders. . . . This Teutonic strain, with its characteristic tenacity of purpose and sustained power of effort, combined with Celtic brilliancy and emotional fervor, differentiate the Highlanders of the west from more purely Celtic nations. . . ."

The provinces of the southeast, which comprehended Lothian, Berwickshire, and Teviotdale, or Roxburghshire, represented English culture within a kingdom otherwise Celtic. "The subsequent history of Scotland," remarks Professor Terry, "is the record of that culture's intrusive triumph." The ancient Highlanders followed a pastoral, hunting and warlike life. They had no written language and the songs of their bards, dedicated to local events, were handed down to posterity in consequence of having been committed to memory by successive generations. Their more civilized neighbors of the Lowlands had writings in their own and foreign tongues, and engaged in agriculture and commerce to a limited extent.⁴

As to religion, the Dalriadic Scots were Christians, while the northern Picts were essentially Pagans, Druidism being the prevailing cult, until about 565 when they were converted by the Christian missionary, St. Columba. Pillar stones which had been objects of worship were either overthrown or consecrated with the sign of the cross by Christian teachers. Another strange belief of the Picts was that in Sidhe spirits which were supposed to haunt nature and to dwell underground. This superstition in fairies, in charms, and in the power of the evil eye lingers in many of the

Outline of Highland History

Highland glens at the present day. In the latter part of the sixth century, St. Columba* left Ireland and landed in Iona† which he designed to become a center of monastic life, and from whence the gospel was to be carried throughout Scotland. The Church of Iona permitted certain rites denounced as barbarous by the Church at Rome whose usages finally outwardly supplanted those of Iona; but “the Celtic Church was deeply cherished by the people.”⁵

The circumstance that exercised the greatest cultural development upon the Scottish people was the introduction of the Anglo-Norman influence which took place during the twelfth century. At this time a new civil policy and a change in the social life of Scotland were inaugurated by King David who had been educated at the English court of King Henry I. This policy was carried out by several of the succeeding kings. Encouraged by these sovereigns, large parties of English crossed the Scottish border and settled on estates in the Lowlands that they had acquired through the generosity of the king, and which they held in feudal tenure. “These newcomers belonged to the ranks of the aristocracy. They were of noble birth and knightly accomplishment.”⁶‡ Many had been the companions of William the Conqueror. Knightly Norman and Saxon lords built on Scottish soil their pretentious stone castles and made grants of land to their followers and the natives who remained under their protection. Thus the feudal system, together with Anglo-Norman culture, became stamped upon the whole country. “The making of Scotland was the achievement of the Celtic kings. Her moulding was the task of the English stock. It gave her the stability and institutions she lacked.”⁷ The Highlanders, especially the men of Moray, fearing a similar encroachment upon their territory, rose in revolt against King David, who quickly suppressed the insurrection, and proceeded to deal with their lands as forfeited to the Crown. He portioned out these estates to his Anglo-Norman favorites. “Throughout the conquered kingdom of Moray rose their fortresses of stone; each was a center of royal authority; each a menace to the rebels of the district. The Comyn,§ a great Norman lord, held Badenoch and Lochabar with his castles at Ruthven and Inverlochy. Bisset,|| another Norman with lesser barons under him, dom-

*See Appendix.

†See Lords of the Isles.

‡See the Chisholm Clan.

§ See Chart IX.

|| See Family of Byset and Clan Chart C^c.

The Clan Chisholm

inated the Aird and Strathglass from his castle at Beaufort.”⁸ A royal castle was built at Inverness which town David created as a trading community called a burgh. The burgesses were given special privileges—they were vassals of the Crown alone, “were exempt from the wager of battle, and held no intercourse but that of trade with the clans outside.”

By the middle of the thirteenth century, great social changes had taken place in the Highlands; its feudalization had been complete and the feudal system of clanship established, which remained unchanged until after 1746.

“The Frasers, Lords of Lovat, a Norman family early located in the Lothians, succeeded to the chief part of the possessions of the great house of Bisset, and became chiefs of a powerful clan inhabiting the Aird and the district along the river Beaul. The Chisholms, also of the same race, acquired the Erchless branch of the Bisset property and became, like their neighbors, the founders of a considerable clan. The Grants, probably descendants of Sir Lawrence le Grant, or le Grand, Sheriff of Inverness, . . . obtained lands first in Stratherrick and afterwards by the river Spey. . . . The tradition of most of the clans speaks of their founders as foreigners and the tradition is probably correct.”⁹ Perhaps the most imposing of these Highland clans were the Macdonalds of the Isles in whose Celtic veins ran the royal blood of Irish and Norwegian kings. They affected the style and title of princes, maintained an army and a fleet, and for years were a thorn in the flesh of the Scottish kings.

“The word clan means a child, so the clan system was simply a type of social organization in which the members of certain districts were bound together as brother to brother under the leadership of a common father, or chief.”¹⁰ While exercising similar prerogatives to those of the feudal lords of Europe, the chief’s attitude towards his people was more strictly paternal and considerate than the despotic rule of the Continental overlord. To the clan chief the idea of disassociating the land from those who lived on it was as strange as to a father would be the idea of disinheriting his children. Duncan Forbes in *Culloden Papers* defines a Highland clan as “a set of men, all having the same surname and believing themselves . . . to be descended from the same common ancestor.” The notion that the members of the clan were wholly related by blood was a fiction. “An inner ring,” states Baring-Gould, “was indeed so composed; but there existed an outer ring

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made up of captives taken in war, thralls, and runaways from other clans—‘broken men’ as they were termed—who had solicited and obtained admission into another clan.” The highest virtue demanded of a clansman was his loyalty to the chief for whom life and everything precious in life was to be sacrificed when required. The chief was a petty sovereign within his own domains, exercising jurisdiction over his own subjects almost independent of royal authority; but his form of government was not arbitrary; every clansman had the right of access and speech with the chief. Because of the continual attempts of restless neighbors to extend their holdings, it was essential for a chief to possess as large a retinue as possible to protect his property from pillage. Each clan was an isolated community. The people recognized no higher authority than that of their chief. They followed his standard in war, and in lieu of rent for the farms they occupied, supplied his table with the fruits of their labor. In return, the house of the chief was the general resort of the clan, and much of his revenue was spent in entertaining them. Thus polite manners and hospitality were diffused among these wild Highlanders. “The highest and lowest were companions in arms, and depended for their safety upon their mutual fidelity and courage.”¹¹ In war, the chief was the commander of his clan; the eldest cadet led the right wing; the youngest, the rear; while the head of every district was captain of his tribe. In later years the chief did not lead his followers upon neighborhood or border raids, but he evinced no scruples in receiving a share of the spoils from a foray conducted by his clansmen.

“The chief lived in considerable state. Each had a numerous household. A select body-guard defended his person, and his visits were paid with much pomp and ceremony. When on a journey, he was attended by the following officers and servants; the hanchman; bard; piper’s gilly, who carried the pipe; bladier, the spokesman; gilli-more, the broadsword-bearer; gillie-casflue, to carry the chieftain, when on foot, over the ford; gilli-com-straine, leader of the horse in rough and dangerous ways; and gilli-trush-anarnish, the baggage-man.”¹² The square towers or castles four or five stories high, wherein the chief dwelt, were not especially convenient, or remarkable for their architectural beauty; but they were the center of lavish hospitality. “There was always an abundance of venison, beef, lamb, and poultry. The hills furnished him with a variety of game, the pursuit

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of which was one of his favorite pastimes—and the rivers with great quantities of fish, especially salmon. Claret, of a fine vintage, was imported from France. The top of each successive cask was removed and the container placed in the corner of the hall ‘to be emptied in pailfuls’.”¹³ The liquor of the people was ale as that of the chief was claret. Later whiskey was introduced, and it is said that the Highland gentlemen were immoderate drinkers of it, even three or four quarts being consumed at a sitting. “Personal loyalty is a tradition with the Highlander and so is whiskey.”

On the occasion of a marriage or a funeral, particularly of a chief, the profusion of food and wine was limitless. When The Mackintosh died in 1704, the funeral feasts and entertainments lasted for a whole month. Perhaps the obsequies of a chief that have gone down in the history of the Highlands as displaying the greatest amount of pomp and circumstance, together with the most lavish provisions of so called “funeral bake meats,” were those of The Chisholm who died in 1817. “The body of this chief,” writes Cameron Lee, “lay in state for several days in an inn at Inverness, where wines and refreshments were laid out for all visitors. A banquet was held in a granary close to Beaully Priory where The Chisholm was buried. Those of gentle kindred occupied the upper apartments, while the commons feasted in rooms on the lower floor. Claret, it is said, ‘ran like ditch-water’, and the old women of the village brought pails to carry off the surplus whiskey. These are said to have kept public-house for six months afterwards on the relics of this feast.”

When their estates became extensive, it was customary for the head of the clan to grant large tracts of land to the younger branches of his family in return for a trifling quitrent. These persons were called chieftains, and later tacksmen, to whom the lower classes looked up as their immediate leaders. They often parceled out portions of their own large farms to under-tenants, whom they treated kindly. Eviction for non-payment of rent was then unknown. These tacksmen lived for the most part in comfortable stone houses, while the abodes of their tenants were of a very humble description, their houses being built of uncemented round stones thatched with sods and sometimes heather. “At a distance,” writes Burt, “these houses look like a heap of dirt.” Innured to hardships from infancy, the wants of the common people were few and their amusements simple.

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The dress of the Highlander is too familiar to all to warrant a description here; but it may not be commonly known that the chequered plaid—usually three yards long and two breadths wide — which formed part of their habit, served them as a bed and covering in war, or when tending their cattle.

In H. V. Morton's *In Search of Scotland* appears the following excellent description of a Highlander: "The Highlander is a vocal patriot. . . . Mountain burns and the sound of old battles are always in his soul. One of the finest things about him is his pride of race. He is a born aristocrat . . . the meanest clansman bears the name of his chief. The Highlander has a superiority complex; his name is itself a crest for all men to see. The Lowlanders were wont to regard all mountaineers as thieves and bandits. But when Sir Walter Scott turned the light of romance upon him, all the meanness left him and he stood before the world in the grandeur of his rugged virtue. Here, it was discovered, stood Nature's last perfect gentleman."

Besides the clan chiefs, there were other dignitaries in the Highlands as well as the Lowlands whose rank and social position may be more clearly understood by a few words of explanation. These were the lords and barons. All barons were at first obliged to attend Parliament; but, as their number increased, it was decreed that each province should be represented by only one or two, and those delegated must be of the greatest dignity and experience. To these were given the title of lord, or lord of Parliament. The meetings to discuss the affairs of the kingdom becoming more frequent, the less wealthy nobles were unable to bear the expense of attending. As a result, those who possessed the most riches were chosen in place of those who had the most experience, and these retained the title accorded their position during their lifetime, while their male heirs to whom their estates descended, usually inherited their places in Parliament and the designation of lord.¹⁴

The feuds between the clans form the subject of some of the bloodiest chapters in Highland history, and the clergy, who preached "the gospel of love in a land of hate," appears to have had little or no power in repressing them, or even acting as mediators between the clans. Indeed the sanctity of the church itself offered no barrier to the depredations of the raiders if it happened to be located in a district that had aroused their ire or cupidity.

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In 1488, the Macdonalds of Garmorran and Lochabar, while on a raid in Ross-shire against The Mackenzie, set fire one Sunday morning to the church at Contin in which the aged men, women and children had sought sanctuary, and, heedless of the pleadings and cries of the inmates, allowed them, together with their priest, to perish in the flames.

The martial air of the Macdonalds of Glengarry received its inspiration from the following circumstance: In 1603, an incursion of the Macdonalds of Glengarry was made into the territory of the Mackenzies. The Macdonalds surprised a party of the enemy gathered in the church of Kilchrist, which they burned with the entire congregation. "The Glengarry piper, marching around the burning building drowned the shrieks of the sufferers by a pibroch which was afterwards adopted as the air of the Glengarry Clan."¹⁵

About the year 1560, the Protestant Reformation which swept England during the reign of Henry VIII, reached Scotland. The Pope's jurisdiction was abolished and it was declared criminal to say mass. The chief of Grant, who had been a member of the Parliament that adopted the Reformation, outwardly accepted the new faith as did also Mackintosh and Lovat, although a large part of the latter's clan remained Catholic; this was also true of the people of the Moidart Clanranald whose chief became Protestant. Glengarry, Chisholm, and the Macdonalds of Lochabar adhered to the Roman Catholic party.¹⁶ The Protestant Reformers kept such a vigilant eye upon the churches that the priests were obliged to go about the country disguised as peasants, and to perform their religious functions at the risk of their lives. Many an improvised altar of rock was raised in the mountain fastness where they held secret service.* One of the Jesuit stations in the Highlands was at Strathglass.

After the death of Queen Anne, the Catholic priests once again began openly to exercise the functions of their office. But the Hanoverian succession to the late queen was not acceptable to the Highlanders, although to conceal their dissatisfaction and divert any possible suspicion of a plot they might be harboring to place a Stuart upon the throne, many of the Highland chiefs combined in sending a letter to the Earl of Mar setting forth, "their great delight at the accession of King George, and their willingness

*See Story of the Stone Font at Cannich in Appendix.

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to give all their support to a prince 'so brightly adorned with all royal virtues.' . . . They hoped that his Majesty's royal and kindly influence would reach them, the most remote of his subjects."¹⁷ This somewhat hypocritical epistle was signed among others by Macdonnell of Keppock, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comar, and Mackintosh of Mackintosh. The king paid no attention to the letter nor to the unprincipled Earl of Mar who presented it. Humiliated, the earl secretly left the English court and on August 19, 1715, he sent letters to all the Jacobites around the country, including those very chiefs who had made such protestation of loyalty to the king, to meet him at Braemar. The outcome of this meeting was the raising of the standard of the dour and melancholy Chevalier as King James VIII, which ended in the battle of Sheriffmuir, November, 1715. The inefficient Mar was supported by recruits from the north including the Lord of Seaforth with his Mackenzies, Chisholm of Comar with his clansmen, a detachment of Frasers—the cunning Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, having joined the royal contingent with a part of his followers—Glengarry, and Grant of Glenmoriston. The issue of the battle was doubtful, for as Scott in one of his famous ballads expresses it:

A battle there was which I saw, man ;
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran, and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa', man.

However by February, 1716, the "Rising of the Fifteen," as it was called, came to an end with the retreat of the Jacobites. The Highland forces scattered in all directions. Much clemency was shown towards the participants in the rebellion, although there were some executions, while a few of the prisoners were shipped as indentured servants to American plantations. Glengarry was pardoned, but Grant of Glenmoriston and Chisholm of Comar were declared traitors, and their estates forfeited. But the government gained little from their lands which "were finally put up for sale, and, through the good offices of friends, purchased and restored to their former owners."¹⁸

General Wade was put in command of the royal forces in the Highlands and received the submission of the chiefs who had taken part in the uprising. A letter of contrition from The Chisholm for his part in the rebellion

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is given in the Appendix as an example of the repentance expressed by the other chiefs.

By an act of Parliament, in order to safeguard the government against a similar outbreak, the Highlanders were commanded to completely disarm. At first they brought useless rusty weapons some of which they had imported from Holland; but by 1726 the disarming was entirely effective and on September 15, General Wade reported "that the arms of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, Chisholms of Strathglass, and Grants of Glenmoriston were surrendered . . . and instead of dirks, swords, and pistols, they now travel to their churches, fairs, etc., with only a staff in their hands."¹⁹* A quarter of a century elapsed before the sword was again unsheathed for the last time in the cause of the Stuarts. The story of Charles Edward Stuart, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," son of the Chevalier James and his wife Princess Clementina Sobieska, which ended in the disastrous battle of Culloden, has been so often told that it needs no repetition here; but one interesting incident in connection with the battle, perhaps not as familiar to the general reader, may bear repeating. Ever since the days of Bruce, the Macdonalds had formed a part of the right wing of the royal army. On Culloden moor they were placed on the left wing. This they deemed an insult to their honor. When the right wing was nearly annihilated, and the left wing was commanded to advance, the Macdonalds refused to obey but "stood sullen and motionless, cutting the heather with their broadswords. They would rather suffer defeat than forgive the insult."²⁰ In vain the Duke of Perth, who commanded Glengarry's regiment, entreated them, and they still remained obdurate even when Keppock, one of their own native chiefs, rushed forward calling upon them to follow, and exclaiming, as he fell pierced by a musket ball, "My God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me?" When the right and center of the Prince's army retreated, the angry Macdonalds marched off the field in good order without striking a blow. One author in referring to the incident remarks, "Their conduct displayed Celtic pride in its most infatuated form."

The brutality of the Duke of Cumberland in mercilessly slaughtering the wounded left on the battle-field, or wherever they could be found,† can

*See Wade's report concerning the clans in Appendix.

†See Story of Wolfe in Appendix.



CHISHOLM MARKER ON THE FIELD OF CULLODEN

Outline of Highland History

be only partly defended, if at all, by the fact that the duke had been brought up in the German military school whose traditions taught that "every accorded grace to the unfortunate people proceeds from the will of the conqueror."²¹ In glowing contrast to the duke's inhumanity was the incorruptible loyalty of the defeated Scots to their prince. Notwithstanding the fact that a reward of £30,000 was offered for the apprehension of Prince Charles, there were none of so mean an estate in the Highlands as to be tempted to betray him, although the gaunt spectre of dire poverty shadowed the doorway of many a humble cottage in which the prince sought rest, concealment, or refreshment. Such was their fidelity to a lost cause. The name of Chisholm is conspicuous among those who aided the prince, not only at Culloden, where they were under the leadership of Roderick Og, son of Roderick Chisholm, XXI of Comar, but also in his escape to France. Hugh, Alexander, and Donald Chisholm, sons of Paul Chisholm of Blairie, were members of the famous "Seven Men of Glenmoriston" whom the prince called his Privy Council.

After the bloody work of "stamping out the rebellion" had been accomplished, Parliament passed the "Act of Indemnity" or act of pardon. In the list of eighty persons who were not exempted by this act appeared the names of young Clanranald, Glengarry, Chisholm of Comar, Grant of Glenmoriston, and Fraser of Foyers. However, through the influence of Lord President Forbes of Culloden, Chisholm of Comar and many of the others were released upon the mere payment of a fine.

In 1746, by another act of Parliament, the wearing of the picturesque dress of the Highlands—the plaid and the kilt—was proscribed. The oath that was administered to the people for the enforcement of the law will be found in the Appendix. The act was not repealed until 1782. Finally in 1747, a law was passed abolishing "heritable jurisdictions and the right of ward-holding" by which landlords commanded the military services of their tenants. "Thus the power of the chief was broken, and much of the romance of the Highlands ended." The chiefs no longer required the services of their clansmen for defensive purposes, nor could they be made use of for the plunder of defenseless neighbors. Soon the chiefs began to realize that the rent paid by their vassals was far below the value of the land. Gradually the rental on the farms, which the clansmen, from long custom,

The Clan Chisholm

had looked upon as their own, increased, and many tenants were evicted that their farms might be turned into sheep pastures, or game preserves. Indeed "at one time only two of the ancient stock remained in possession of an inch of land on the Chisholm estates" which in the olden days had been the abode of strong, hardy, independent men. Professor Blackie writing in the *Celtic Magazine*, bitterly complained that "now where once were tiny villages or serviceable farms, is a district where not a single being is to be found except a gamekeeper for some English aristocrat or American plutocrat; or a shepherd to represent a Titanic dealer in wool or mutton." Much of the Highland property is now used for grouse shooting and deer forests, sheep in many cases being dispossessed by deer especially on the hill grounds.

All these evictions caused so much misery and unemployment that many of the Highlanders were forced with heavy hearts to seek new homes in foreign lands. America, with its mighty forests and fertile prairies, presented an open door for the wanderers. About this time many Highland regiments were formed to take part in the wars across the sea. The Fraser Highlanders were with Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, while two battalions of this famous regiment together with the Macdonald Highlanders performed distinguished service for the mother country during the American Revolution, 1776 to 1781.²²

Partly to check emigration and to give relief to the unemployed, the Caledonian canal was built, and extensive road building undertaken. These improvements greatly increased property values. It is said that the revenues from The Chisholm estates rose from £700 in 1785 to £5000 per annum.

Many of the old chiefs are still represented in their descendants. There is still a Fraser at Beaufort—the old castle and all the buildings on the Lovat estate were burned by government forces in 1746; a Mackintosh at Moy; a Grant at Strathspey; while until recently Erchless Castle was occupied by the two daughters of James Sutherland Chisholm, the twenty-seventh chief, who died in May, 1885.

J. Cameron Lee states that the only great clan families that have disappeared are the Macdonalds. There is no longer a Glengarry in the glen that bears his name. "The roofless walls of Castle Tirrim, standing gaunt and bare by the Western Sea," alone remains of Clanranald's splendid inheritance.

Outline of Highland History

In arranging the preceding historical outline of the Highlands, the writer must acknowledge, in the words of Montaigne, that "I have here only made a nosegay of culled flowers, and have brought little of my own but the thread that ties them together."

NOTE: The sources from which these facts have been drawn include: J. Cameron Lee's *History of Inverness-shire*; Robert Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland*; Prof. Charles S. Terry's *History of Scotland*; Dr. Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*; Sir John Carr's *Caledonian Sketches*;

Johnston and Robertson's *Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland*; Macdonald's *Clan Donald*; Professor Blackie's *The Clan System*; *The Celts* by Baring-Gould; Duncan Forbes's *Culloden Papers*; Doctor Skene's *Celtic Highlands*; et al.



II

The Clan Chisholm

Origin and Location of the Border and Highland Chisholms



UR names," remarks Baring-Gould, "are a historical record when rightly read, and inform us to what nation our ancestors belonged and often what his office or occupation was." Most surnames date back seven hundred years or more. It was during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, owing to the increasing population and the extension of commerce, that, by an almost imperceptible and unpremeditated movement, nomenclature began to assume a solid and lasting basis throughout the more civilized European societies. "The distinguishing sobriquet became part and parcel of a man's property and passed on with his other possessions to his direct descendants."¹ After the Norman Conquest surnames became the fashion in England.

King David II, on his return from the court of Henry II of England, brought with him many Norman knights and gentlemen to whom he granted extensive estates. This encouraged large numbers of these foreigners to leave England and settle on the arable soil of the Lowlands. Many people of Danish or Norse blood also settled here. Some established themselves in the county of Roxburgh which was also called Teviotdale from the Teviot river which runs its entire length. This picturesque county contains a succession of hills and dales through which numberless rivers take their course. In many of these rivers there are small islands. The Norse or Danish word for islands so located is "holm"—also written "holme"—meaning an island in a river or lake.² With this in mind it is interesting to note an article appearing in the *Border Magazine* which was first published in 1863, and embodied much curious information about ancient Border towns, families, and traditions. From a contribution to its initial number, on Border names, which are also localized in the Highlands, is the following extract: "The origin of a well-known and ancient family name is a case illustrative of names derived from places. Hugo de Chessé, or Chessy, a Norman knight deriving his title from Chessy in France, followed the standard of Duke William across to England. His descendant, Richard

The Clan Chisholm

de Chessé, emigrated soon after from Lincolnshire, first to Redesdale, and then to Roxburghshire, where he gained the hand of a Saxon heiress, and gave to his estates the half-Norman and half-Saxon title of De Chessé—holme—the home of De Chessé.* The name De Chessé is common in Domesday Book, and the Roll of Battle Abbey, and John de Chessé, or Chessé-holme, represents the Roxburghshire family in a bull of the Pope. Eventually the old De Chessé was entirely forgotten, and the descendants were Richard, John, or Walter de Chessé-holme, whence the change was easy into Chisholm. This is the actual origin of the name Chisholme, from documents existing in the charter chest of Mr. Chisholm of Stirches, the lineal representative of the oldest line of the De Chessé."

This would seem conclusive evidence of the Norman descent of the Chisholms. Mackenzie, in his *History of the Chisholms* advances a proof along similar lines. "Malcolm, the historian," he states, "says that 'the Chisholms came soon after the Conquest, A.D. 1066, from Tindale in England. The original name is said to have been De Chesé, to which the Saxon termination "holme" was added on the marriage of the Norman ancestor with a Saxon heiress, whose lands, from situation, were so called.' In the early records the name is written de Cheséholme, later de Chesehelme vel Chesholme, and eventually Chisholm as we now have it." How there could have ever been any argument regarding the descent of the Chisholms is difficult to understand for as Doctor Skene says, "the very character of the name itself, seems with sufficient clearness to indicate a Norman origin."

How widely through Scotland foreign blood has flowed and penetrated into even Gaelic veins may be seen when we look at some of the principal families and even clans of the Highlands. "Many of them," asserts Baring-Gould, "bear Anglo-Norman names. This is true of those by the name of Cummin, Fraser, Oliphant, Bruce, et al., while the chieftain of the Clan Chisholm is of foreign origin."

Although the Chisholms of the south of Scotland acknowledged the Chisholms of Strathglass as their undoubted chief, there was at one time considerable controversy whether the Chisholms of the south were of the

* The writer of the article errs at this point by translating "holme" as "home." Holme or holm, as stated above, means a river (or lake) island. "Hām" is the Saxon word for "home."



THE FALLS OF KILMORACK, BEAULY

Origin and Location

same race as those in the north and if the original seat of the Strathglass Chisholms was in Roxburghshire, notwithstanding the fact that in 1254 appeared the earliest documentary evidence extant in which mention of the family in Scotland is made, while the first certain and authentic intimation of the Chisholms being established in the north was in the year 1334.

James Logan, author of the *Scottish Gael*, attributes in his *History of the Clan Chisholm* (very brief) a Gaelic descent from Harald, Thane of Orkney and Caithness, who flourished during the reign of William the Lion (1196).^{*} But Logan's statements seem to have been taken from the region of conjectural speculation and shadowy tradition. Other authorities declare that the progenitor of the family was indeed of Anglo-Norman origin and subsequently, acquiring lands in the Highlands, adopted the customs of his Gaelic neighbors, while the influence of time softened or obliterated original distinctions.

This latter theory has been forcibly maintained by Dr. W. Forbes Skene, former Historiographer-Royal for Scotland; Dr. William Mackay, author of *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*; Prof. James Brown in the *History of the Highlands and Highland Clans*; Burke in *Landed Gentry*; Alexander Mackenzie in the *History of the Chisholms*, and Smibert in *The Clans*, and is generally in accord with the opinions of the later etymologists, genealogists, and heralds, being substantiated by indisputable written evidence. Indeed, the early Chisholm charters, especially that of April 15, 1403, suffice to establish their real origin with great clearness. Of the alleged Caithness origin no trace is found in any authentic document. It is, however, "an incontestible truth that for many generations the Chisholms of the north were known in their vernacular tongue by the appellation 'An Sissolach', 'The Chisholm' emphatically as the chief." As no Chisholm genealogy is complete without some reference to the already familiar boast of one of its chiefs, it might not be amiss to quote it here. An old head of the clan was wont to say that there were but three persons in the world entitled to be called "The"—"The King, The Pope, and The Chisholm." Prof. James Brown, the historian, refers to this seeming assumption of arrogance on the part of the chief in rather sarcastic terms. "The head of this family," he writes, "affects the denomination of The Chisholm; a title

^{*}See Logan's theory in Appendix.

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not remarkable either for its modesty or good taste, and which is apt to provoke a smile when it first meets the eye or ear of persons not accustomed to such definite and exclusive appellations. Longinus informs us, however, that the Greeks called Homer, par excellence, The Poet, and probably this is considered as a sufficient warrant in the north for a laird styling himself The Chisholm." From this it would almost seem that Professor Brown was not familiar with the native pride and haughty dignity of those ancient Highland chiefs who, in the fastness of their majestic mountains, practically cut off from the outside world by natural barriers, assumed almost regal splendor and ruled their domains with the authority of royal princes.

Confusion has often been caused by certain writers designating the chiefs of the Chisholms as "of Chisholm," a term which properly applies to the Border Chisholms. Chisholm is an estate or locality in Robertson parish, West Roxburghshire near the right bank of Borthwick Water, nearly eight miles from Harwick. Here stands the practically modern manor house of the Chisholms of the Border.

Strathglass, for over five hundred years the abode of the Highland Chisholms (their first appearance in the Highlands, however, being in Nairnshire), includes Comar, Erchless, Knockfin, Fasnakyle, etc. It comprises a large section of Inverness-shire, which is one of the most extensive counties in Scotland. The shire of Nairn borders it on the north; Banff and Aberdeenshire, on the west; and Argyllshire forms a part of its southern limits.³ On the Beauly, which is fed chiefly by the Farrar, Cannich and Glass rivers, is one of the beauty spots of this district, the famous Falls of Kilmorack where the river, after entering the open valley through a narrow passage between high cliffs, widens into a basin, then dashes over broad rocky ledges. In July and August many salmon come to the foot of the falls. As the water at this point dashes in dense spray, the salmon cannot see before them and often leap on the dry rock.*

Tradition relates, according to an article by Mr. Colin Chisholm in the *Celtic Magazine* of 1881, that "the level valley of Strathglass† was at one period a sheet of water extending from Dunfionn above Beaufort Castle

* See Story of Lord Lovat's Catch in Appendix.

† "Strath" means a wide valley traversed by a river and bounded by hills.



ERCHLESS CASTLE, NEAR BEAULY

Origin and Location

to Knockfin, covering a distance of fifteen miles in length and three fourths of a mile average breadth."

Strathglass is supposed to have acquired the suffix "glass" from the barrier at the east end of the lake, "glass" being the Gaelic for lock or barrier. "The meandering river Glass, rising in Loch Benvian and so slowly winding its placid course through the fertile plains of Strathglass, seemingly unwilling to quit its parent hills, turns again halfway round at short intervals."

When the winter snows are thawing and running through all the glen from the watershed of Strathconan on the north to Glenmoriston on the south, and when they are all accumulated in the valley of Strathglass, they form what appears almost a lake at the foot of the mountains. Thus it has acquired the cognomen of the "Sea of Aigais."

The Chisholm estates in Kilmorack and Kiltarlity parishes comprise about 900 acres of arable land in Kilmorack, and 750 acres in Kiltarlity, besides a vast extent of woodland and pasture which together with the deep green background of the forest clad mountains form a picturesque panorama of Highland scenery. The principal seat of this estate is Erchless Castle. There is also a romantic shooting-lodge on Loch Affric. A mountain defile bears the name of Chisholm's Pass which affords an entrance to Strathaffric. The pass on one side commands a noble vista of Strathglass, while the other overlooks a wooded, rocky, impetuous reach of the river Affric, with several cascades from ten to thirty feet high. "The Pass itself is successively a rapid ascent, and a level reach, exhibiting on a grand scale a wealth and multitude of features similar to those of Rothiemurchies, Killiecrankie and the Trossachs."⁴

The residence or stronghold of the Chisholm chiefs was Erchless Castle, which is one of the few castles of the "olden times" now standing in its primitive grandeur. It is situated a little below the confluence of the Glass, Farrar and Cannich rivers, and was erected between 1594 and 1610, being completed by John Chisholm. It is a venerable whitewashed old stone tower so entirely surrounded by a wreath of hills that the glen seems scooped out on purpose to hold the house and park. In Alexander Chisholm's time, about 1689, it was, as appears from Mackay's *Memoirs*, alternately occupied by the contending troops of James II and William III; and, while Lord Strath-

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naver's regiment was at Inverness, two companies of soldiers were lodged in the castles of Urquhart and Erchless.

Prior to the construction of the present ancient structure, the original seat stood on an elevated spot some distance to the north of the present one, and near to which place the remains of the chief, James Sutherland Chisholm, and his wife lie in a beautiful tomb surrounded by shrubbery and evergreens.

Erchless Castle is in excellent repair, and handsomely furnished, the backs of many of the antique chairs bearing the Chisholm coat-of-arms exquisitely hand-carved. The interior consists of a dining-room, drawing-room, morning-room, library, twelve large bedrooms, two dressing-rooms, eight servants' bedrooms, a servants' hall, baths and lavatories, besides kitchens, pantries and other usual accommodations. There is a garage for four cars in connection with the castle, stabling for six horses, deer larder, meat larder, etc.

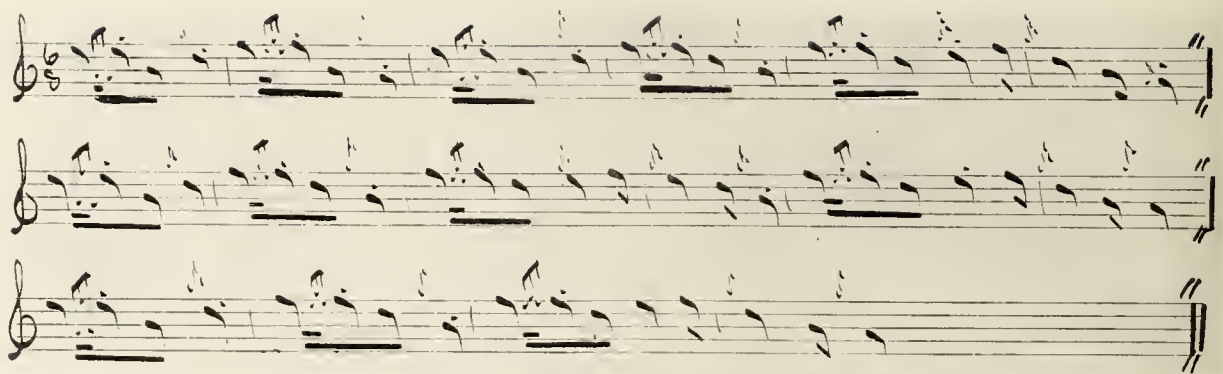
The walls of the lower rooms of the castle are adorned with many valuable paintings and historic pieces of armor. Several glass cases, containing interesting Chisholm relics, such as swords, the more ancient claymores, dirks, and other warlike paraphernalia, occupy conspicuous places in the more important halls.

The shootings extend to some 11,000 acres over the lands of Erchless, Breackachy, and Bhoa, including 8,000 acres of forest and 2,000 acres of moor.

The manner in which the Chisholms came into a part of their Highland possessions is briefly as follows:

The marriage with wealthy heiresses of at least two of the early Chisholm chiefs greatly increased the property holdings of the Chisholms in the north. From his mother, Anne Lauder, daughter of Sir Robert Lauder, Sir Robert de Chisholme succeeded to lands in Moray and Nairn, including Quarrelwood and Kinsterie.⁵ On the marriage of Alexander de Chisholme to Margaret of the Aird and Lady of Erchless, the family estates were materially augmented.* But "it was in the time of Simon, Lord Lovat, that the Chisholms came to have a footing in those lands in Strathglass that had formed part of the Lovat estates since 1415. As early as 1500, Wyland

*See confirmation of indenture dated April 25, 1403, in the Appendix.



CHISHOLM'S SALUTE

Origin and Location

Chisholm appears as owner of Knockfin, Comar Mór, the two Invercanichs and the two Breackachies, and on March 13, 1513, there is a precept under the Great Seal for infefting him in these same lands. In 1538 these lands were erected into a barony in favour of his son John. Later on in the century the Chisholm grasp of Strathglass became more assured. In 1594, John Chisholm became Lovat's tenant for the two Erchlesses, and Comarna-Cille, or Comar Kirkton (Comar of the Church), on a tack of nineteen years, dated February 25 and 26 of that year, containing a precept of Seisin. This was the beginning of a process by which the Chisholms became eventually proprietors of these lands."⁶

Only a part of Strathglass belonged to the Lovats. Affric was never theirs, being a part of the Chisholm's barony of Comarmore.⁷ In Bateman's *Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, the name of Chisholm appears in the first group of forty-four persons to own 100,000 acres of land.

"The Chisholm's Salute" (Failte'nt-Siosalach) was composed as a tribute to the noted hospitality of the Chisholm chiefs.

III

Chisholm Chiefs to Alexander, XIX of Comar



OW that the origin of the Border and Highland Chisholms has been discussed at some length, and their ancient possessions have been located and described, the moment has arrived to consider somewhat in detail the descendants of their first authentically known progenitor—¹

John de Chisholme. As has been previously stated, “the earliest document extant in which mention is made of the name Chisholme, and relating to the family, is a bull of Pope Alexander IV, in which John de Chisholme is named in the year 1254.”² In the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* it is stated, “The lands of Chisholm, in the county of Roxburgh, conferred the name at an early period on a family of consequence.” Shaw, referring to this clan remarks, “The name Chisholm is right ancient in the south where Chisholm of that ilk has a good estate in Teviotdale.”

Now the first of the name of whom any record is found in Scotland is John de Chisholme who had his seat in the western district of the county of Roxburgh, formerly included in the Old Deanery of Teviotdale and diocese of Glasgow.

This John de Chisholme married Emma Veterepont, or Vipont,* daughter of William de Veterepont, Lord of Bolton,³ who grants him as a marriage portion a charter of the lands of Paxtown and the fishing of Bradel-la-Tweed, in the county of Berwick along with the pendicles in the village of Paxtown, and the fishings and pertinents thereunto belonging.”⁴ In the inquisition made at Berwick by the officers of Edward II, on December 23, 1315, these grants are included among the possessions of his grandson, Sir John de Chisholme.

By his marriage with Emma de Veterepont,† which took place during the reign of King Alexander III, John de Chisholme had issue, a son—⁵

Richard de Chisholme, who is described as “Del Counte de Rokesburgh.” Soon after the commencement of the Succession Wars, he submitted with his son to Edward I, in August 28, 1296. After the fall of Balliol, King Edward had no mind to set up another king. “The Scottish nobles held no

*See Family of Veterepont.

†*Ibid.*



SEAL OF SIR RICHARD DE CHISHOLME

In Public Record Office, London

*The Seal of Sir Richard de Chisholme. A boar
head, coupé, contourné. Legend: S' Ricardi
de Cheiselm. Homage, Aug. 28, 1296*

Chisholm Chiefs

scruples in submitting to him, and before he left Scotland the Ragman Roll* recorded two thousand earls, barons, ecclesiastics, freeholders, and others, the Bruces among them, who pledged him their fealty.”⁶ Backed as the English king was by a powerful army, all must obey or suffer martyrdom, in consequence it was considered no special disgrace either to sign the bond or later to break the oath of fealty, as the submission was in most cases the result of coercion.

Richard de Chisholme bore for his arms, as appears by his seal† a boar’s head coupé, contourné. His son and successor was—⁷

Sir John de Chisholme, who was designated “Del Counte de Berwyke.” His name appears with that of his father in the Bond of Fealty to Edward I, 1296.⁸ Doctor Skene, however, declares that “we find only one person of the name (Chisholm) who signed the Ragman Roll. This was Richard de Chisholme, del Counte de Roxburgh.” Whether he signed it or not, Sir John de Chisholme became an adherent of Robert Bruce and fought under his banner at the battle of Bannockburn,⁹ where his kinsman, William de Veterepont, was killed. As a result of his defection, his estates were forfeited by Edward II. In a mandate, dated at York the 18th of April, 1317, Sir John is described by King Edward as “our Scottish enemy and rebel.”¹⁰ A portion of his property was bestowed upon Sir Robert de Manners, ancestor of the Dukes of Rutland. Three years later, the greater part of Sir John’s possessions were restored to him, and confirmed by a charter from King Robert, the Bruce, dated 1320.¹¹ It is said that he was also knighted by the king.

Sir John de Chisholme must have been twenty-one years of age when he signed Ragman Roll. His possessions at the time were limited to the Border. He may have married a lady, whose name is unknown, before the battle of Bannockburn, and had a son, as Mackenzie, in his *History of the Chisholms*, claims, who succeeded him around 1335. This possible son is described as “Alexander de Chisholm, Lord de Chisholme in Roxburgh and Paxtoun in Berwickshire.” Certainly his name appears twice in *Rotuli Scotiae*; first in connection with a disputed case about fishing in the Tweed. The date is February 10, 1335-6. In the second mention of his name,

*See Appendix.

† An illustration of the original is given on another page.

The Clan Chisholm

July 3, 1336-7* reference is made to the town of Paxtown with pertinents thereunto, in the county of Berwick, “que fuerunt Ade de Paxtoun et Alexi de Chisholme, inimicos et rebelliti nostros,” which same lands were forfeited and became the property of “Robert Maners.”

Mackenzie in his *History of the Chisholms* refers to this last document twice, once on page 14, as evidence that Alexander, a brother of Sir John, forfeited his lands, and again on page 15, showing that Alexander had succeeded to his father, Sir John's, estates since he is described as “Alexander de Chisholme of that Ilk,” meaning that he was the head or chief. Thus by Mackenzie's references this Alexander appears both as a brother and as a son of Sir John.

Alexander may have been the brother of Sir John, or he may have been his son. In either case he might have succeeded to the Roxburgh property on the death of Sir John, and, in the event of Alexander's dying without male issue, the estates would have reverted to Sir John's probable son, Sir Robert. Records prove that a Sir Robert de Chisholme, grandson of Sir Robert Lauder, did possess them.

When Sir John's lands were restored to him, in 1320, it is said that King Robert I also granted him some of the forfeited territory of the Comyns in the county of Nairn. Now the Lauders owned property in that county and it is not in the least improbable that on a journey north to inspect his new grants, Sir John met Anne Lauder who eventually became his wife.

Anne was the daughter of Sir Robert Lauder, a man of considerable importance and influence who doubtless would have chosen as a suitable husband for his daughter a man of rank and prominence equal to his own. Certainly Sir John de Chisholme, del Counte de Berwick, now that his estates had been restored, would satisfy these requirements.

Alexander Mackenzie and John Logan claim, without quoting any documentary evidence, that Anne married Sir Robert de Chisholme, son of Alexander de Chisholme and a grandson of Sir John de Chisholme. Yet Mackenzie, himself, affirms that “there was an invariable custom among all notable Scottish houses of honoring their direct ancestors by continuing their names in the family genealogy.” Usually the eldest son bore the name of his father or grandfather. It would seem that Anne Lauder's son

**Rotuli Scotiae*, 10 Edward III, 402.



SEAL OF SIR ROBERT DE CHISHOLME

In British Museum. Diam. $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

The Seal of Sir Robert de Chisholme. On a fess between three boar heads couped; as many cushions. Shield within a cinquefoil panel ornamented along the inner edge with small quatrefoils.

Legend: (Gothic caps) S' Roberti de Chisholme A.D. 1362

Chisholm Chiefs

was named "Robert" after her father, Sir Robert Lauder—the name Robert does not previously appear in the Chisholm family.

Among these writers who favor Sir John de Chisholme as the husband of Anne are Burke in his *Landed Gentry*, published in 1898; Dr. William Mackay in *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*; John Scott Chisholme in a genealogy of the Southern Chisholms, and the author of an article on "Border and Highland Chiefs" appearing in the *Scottish Highlander*, also Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, author of the *Antiquarian* and *Invernessiana*. Fraser-Mackintosh is one of the most frequently quoted and most reliable authorities on Scottish family records and court proceedings. In reference to a certain piece of land held by Sir Robert de Chisholme, he makes this statement without reservations: "Again on the 3rd of February, 1376, on the resignation of Sir Robert de Chisholme, son of Sir John de Chisholme who had married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Lauder (Robert de Lawadyr), Alexander, Bishop of Moray, disposes of the lands by deed (here given in full) to the Wolf of Badenoch."¹²

There are many public and private records existing to prove that Sir Robert de Chisholme not only was the heir to the Roxburgh estates, but was the son and heir of Sir Robert Lauder's only daughter Anne. Her marriage to a De Chisholme baron of the Border marks the first appearance of the name Chisholm in the north; and from this marriage, through their son, Sir Robert, are descended all the Chisholm chiefs of the Highlands.

Supported by such excellent authorities as Fraser-Mackintosh, and others referred to above, there seems little doubt that Sir John de Chisholme married Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, constable of Urquhart Castle on Loch Ness.* Sir John was succeeded by his son—

Sir Robert de Chisholme—who seems to have lived with his grandfather at Urquhart from his youth up. In 1345, he received from John Randolph, Earl of Moray, the one half davoch of Invermoriston; the quarter davoch of Lochletter in Glenmoriston and other lands within the barony of Moray.¹³ These lands were the first Highland possessions of the family of Chisholm.

In June, 1341, King David II returned to Scotland after an absence

*See Family of Lauder, also *History of Urquhart Castle*.

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of seven years spent at Château Gaillard on the banks of the Seine in Normandy. Ill-guided by his advisors, the young king decided to invade England while Edward III was away directing the siege of Calais. On October 17, 1346, he met at Neville's Cross, near Durham, an overwhelming British force led by the clergy of the north. David, deriding the English as an army of "miserable monks and pig-drivers," gave battle and was terribly defeated. John Randolph, Earl of Moray, was slain, and the king taken prisoner along with Sir Robert de Chisholme¹⁴ and Sir Walter de Haliburton.* Sir Robert probably did not regain his liberty until King David, by whom he had been knighted, was released in 1357, as his name does not appear again either in church or state affairs—a circumstance unusual for a man of his rank—until 1358 when, as one of the "Justices of the King, Sir Robert de Chisholme, described as Lord of Chisholme in Roxburghshire, remits a fine to Alexander de Chisholme." This Alexander was probably the son of Sir Robert, who succeeded to the chiefship in the north.

The cares of office were beginning to weigh heavily on the already aging shoulders of Sir Robert Lauder; and between 1358 and 1359, he resigned his post as constable of Urquhart. King David II appointed Lauder's grandson, Sir Robert de Chisholme, to succeed him. Also he had been made sheriff of Inverness-shire, for on the 8th of April, 1359, in the Chamberlain Rolls, is recorded the fact that "Lord Robert de Chisholme, Sheriff of the county of Inverness, gave in his accounts with all his expenses and receipts from Martinmas, 1357."

In a deed dated 1364, Sir Robert de Chisholme refers to Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood as his grandfather, which conclusively establishes his father's marriage with Lauder's daughter, and as Mackenzie states, "The fact that he succeeded to all his maternal grandfather's property in the counties of Inverness, Nairn, and Moray, clearly proves that his mother was Sir Robert Lauder's only child and sole heiress."

There are many deeds still extant relating to Sir Robert, but there is one especially that reflects his liberality as well as the influence of his grandfather, one of whose outstanding characteristics was his devotion to the Church. This charter, which is neatly written with his seal attached fresh and entire, is preserved among the archives of the Burgh of Inverness. It

*See Chart XX^a.

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is dated at Inverness, September 14, 1362, on the Feast of the Epiphany of the Holy Cross. In it is stated that "Robertus de Chisholme, miles, Dominus ejusdem," grants and confirms for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors, "Six acres of arable land lying within the territory of the old castle . . . for making an increase of divine worship forever to the Altar of the Holy Rood of Inverness . . . and I, the foresaid Robert, and my heirs . . . shall . . . forever defend the six acres of the foresaid Altar of the Holy Rood, . . . for the subsistence of one chaplain there, performing (divine worship) and if it happens that I or my heirs . . . contravene this my pious donation and grant, I will and grant that I and my heirs . . . as far as by law I shall be able in any manner, to be excommunicated, interdicted and bound by every manner of ecclesiastical censure."¹⁵ This land is called Direbought, that is, "Tir na bochd," "the lands of the poor," and it is still in the possession of the Kirk Session at Inverness. It lies at the base of the supposed site of Macbeth's Castle.

On the death of David II, his successor, King Robert II, granted in 1370 the castle and barony of Urquhart to his son David, Earl of Strathearn. However, Sir Robert de Chisholme continued to hold the castle of the Crown, and "his annual salary of £40 was paid out of the Royal Exchequer."¹⁶ Doctor Mackay pays the following tribute to the efficiency and courage of Sir Robert Lauder and his grandson, successively governors of Urquhart Castle: "The inhabitants of Glen Urquhart enjoyed a greater measure of security and justice while Sir Robert Lauder and Sir Robert de Chisholme commanded the Castle than they did at any other time. They were able to lie down at night with the assurance that their cattle, and the fruits of their labor would not ere morning be in the hands of the Western Clansmen."

Sir Robert de Chisholme early acquired great influence in the Highlands. As has been previously noted, he was proprietor of Invermoriston, Blairie, Lochletter, Inchbine, and Dulshangie which had been granted him by Randolph; he held Achmonie in feu from the bishop; besides having extensive estates in Nairn and Morayshire. He also held many important offices other than those of constable of Urquhart and sheriff of Inverness. In the report of the proceedings of the court, held at Balloch Hill, January, 1376, the introductory lines are here given as proof of another official position: "In

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the progress of the Justiciary Court of the Regality of Moray, held by me, Robert de Chisholme, Lord of that Ilk, Justiciary of the said Regality of Moray, at Le Ballocis Hill near Inverness, etc." Most important of all was his position as Justiciary of the North.

Notwithstanding his great piety, he could resist the claims of the Church when occasion demanded.

"It seems," to quote from Mackay, "that among the gifts of the early kings to the Priory of Pluscardine, was the mill of Elgin to which certain lands were 'thirled' or attached, to the effect that the owners of the mill could insist on grinding the corn grown on them and on exacting the 'multures' or miller's portions of meal and flour which were then a considerable source of revenue. Sir Robert's Morayshire estate of Quarrelwood* was thirled to the mill of Elgin. When the mill was acquired by the priory, that property was to a large extent . . . in a state of nature, but was subsequently brought under cultivation." Sir Robert refused to pay the multures on the grounds that much of the estate was "wild land" when the priory came into possession of the mill. "The Priory appealed to the Bishop of Moray, and Alexander Bar, the then prelate, issued a monition to Sir Archibald Douglas, complaining of this act."¹⁷ The complaint after stating undisturbed possession, with the knowledge and tolerance of Robert Chisholme, knight, during the preceding reigns, "further asserts and declares that the said Robert had seized and bound a certain husbandman of the lands of Kinrossie to whom the prior by contract let the said multures, and had thrown him into a private prison, by which he directly incurred the sentence of excommunication." The complaint refused to allow the case to be tried by any but an ecclesiastical court and threatened to excommunicate the civil judges if they attempted anything further by which the priory might be wronged.¹⁸ The threat of excommunication had the desired effect. In January, 1370, the prior's pleas were sustained and Sir Robert bound himself to pay the multures in the future.¹⁹

In 1380 his name appears as being one of an assembly of many of the Great Magnates of Scotland who had gathered with King Robert II at Inverness to listen to the protests of the bishop and clergy of Inverness against

*Quarrelwood or Quarrywood is in the parish of Spyne and is so called from a rich quarry of freestone within these lands.

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the king's son Alexander, Earl of Buchan, known for his lawlessness as the Wolf of Badenoch.

In the marriage contract of Sir Robert's daughter Janet (or Joneta) to Hugh Rose of Kilravock is this rather unique agreement considering the high rank of the contracting parties; besides making over to Rose the lands of Cantrabundie, within Strathnairn, the deed provides "that from the day of the celebration of the marriage, the said Sir Robert shall keep and maintain his said daughter for three whole years in meat and drink; but the said Hugh shall find and keep her in all necessary garments and ornaments."

As Sir Robert advanced in years he resigned to the Crown much of his property in Urquhart that he had received from the Earl of Moray, which in turn, in 1389, King Robert II granted his son, the Earl of Buchan.²⁰ The lands that he held from the Church in this parish he surrendered to the Bishop of Moray, from whom they also passed into the hands of the Earl of Buchan *in feu ferm*.²¹

Becoming too old and frail to carry on the arduous duties of constable, Sir Robert resigned the post which between 1390 and 1392 was held by his grandson Thomas de Chisholme.

His death must have occurred soon after 1393, as that is the last mention of his name in the public records. Doctor Mackay expresses his admiration of Sir Robert in these words: "The old Constable died, leaving behind him a reputation for honesty of purpose and uprightness in judgment, second only to that of the great Randolph."

It is said that Sir Robert de Chisholme married Margaret, daughter of Sir Walter de Haliburton, who, it will be remembered, was taken prisoner with Sir Robert at the battle of Halidon Hill, 1346. John Scott Chisholme in his genealogy of the Border Chisholms, records the marriage of Sir Robert's son Robert, who became the progenitor of the Border Chisholms, to Margaret Haliburton; but in Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, Burke's *Landed Gentry*, and Mackenzie's *History of the Chisholms*, is given her marriage to Sir Robert de Chisholme, grandson of Sir Robert Lauder.

The Chisholms are also connected with the Haliburtons through Margaret's sister Jean, who married Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney.*

*See Chart XX.

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John Scott Chisholme, compiler of the *Genealogy of the Southern Chisholmes*, declares that Sir Robert de Chisholme was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, who was heir to his father's Border estates and Quarrelwood, in Moray, which Sir Robert had inherited from his grandfather, Sir Robert Lauder. John de Chisholme, according to Mr. Chisholme, was the eldest son and heir of this second Robert. His only child, Morella, married Alexander Sutherland, Baron Duffus, and great-grandson of the Earl of Sutherland. Through his wife, Sutherland received much of the Chisholme property, including Quarrelwood, Clunie and Clova in Moray; Paxtown in Berwickshire, and other extensive possessions. John de Chisholme, dying without male issue, was succeeded in the Border estates by his brother Robert, who was "retoured, as his heir, on a Brieve from the Chancery of James I, directed to the sheriff of Teviotdale, 'to serve Robert de Chisholme, brother of John de Chisholme, in all lands, etc., in which the latter died vest, and seized at the King's faith and peace within his sheriffdom, dated, 13th Sept., anno, reg. 30, (1436).'" The year 1436 was the date of John de Chisholme's death.*

Sir Robert de Chisholme, constable of Urquhart Castle, also had another "son, Alexander de Chisholme, who married Margaret de la Aird, heiress of Erchless, and became founder of the family of Strathglass."† All reliable authorities agree as to the parentage of Alexander, including Mackenzie, who apparently was somewhat confused at this point regarding his dates. To quote from his *History of the Chisholms*, page 27: "On the death of John de Chisholme, who he claims was the son of Sir Robert de Chisholme in 1436 without male issue, he was succeeded in the remaining lands, belonging to the family, in the Highlands and as head of the house by his next brother, Alexander de Chisholme." Later, Mackenzie states that Alexander was succeeded by his son Thomas who "was Constable of Urquhart Castle in 1391-92, succeeding his father, who had at that date, from extreme old age, become too frail to perform the duties of that responsible office." He also remarks that Thomas' father was alive at least four years later than 1398. After which date, the reader is given to understand he died. Now if this were true, Alexander could not have succeeded his brother John in 1436.

*See Appendix for Border Family.

†Mackay's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*.

As there is documentary proof that Thomas de Chisholme was the son of Alexander de Chisholme and his wife Margaret de la Aird, and also that he succeeded his grandfather, Sir Robert de Chisholme, as constable of Urquhart Castle, the parentage of John de Chisholme will be here accepted as given by John Scott Chisholme without further argument, especially as the descendants of the said John belong to a different branch entirely from the Highland Chisholms with which this genealogy is directly concerned.

Since so many are familiar with Alexander Mackenzie's numbering of the Chisholm chiefs as given in his *History of the Chisholms*, his arrangement has been followed in other parts of this work, consequently the numbers as he recorded them will be given in parenthesis opposite each succeeding chief.

Sir Robert de Chisholme's second son was—²²

Alexander de Chisholme (VIII). Alexander came into possession of very extensive property in the Highlands on his marriage to Margaret de la Aird.²³

Margaret de la Aird and Lady of Erchless was the daughter of Weyland of the Aird and his wife Matilda, daughter of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, Orkney and Caithness²⁴ by his wife Marjorie, daughter of Hugh, the 5th Earl of Ross.* Just who Weyland del Ard (variously spelled de la Ard, de la Aird, and de la Airde) was, has been the subject of extensive conjecture and exhaustive arguments by different family historians. In order to trace his ancestry a trifle more clearly, it will be necessary to consider briefly the family connections of the Bysets which at first glance may appear irrelevant to the subject.

The Aird—a promontory—was originally the low land jutting out into the sea between Bunchrew and the mouth of the Beaully river; but in time the name came to be applied to the wider district, known as the Aird. "John Byset (or Bisset) first appears as the Lord of Aird in the early part of the thirteenth century, about 1218. . . . Byset must have been the first of the family who acquired the barony of Aird in the province of Moray, for the confirmation of the king (presumably William the Lion) expressly mentions that the lands had been granted to John Byset personally."²⁵ When John

*See Charts XVIII and XIX.

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accompanied his uncle Walter Byset into exile* "he doubtless made over his barony of Aird, with his adjoining estates, to his son John, and the John Byset, acting as Lord Lovat, in 1258 was this John Byset the younger." This John died in 1259 leaving three daughters: Muriel (or Marie), wife of Sir David de Graham, whose male line ended with his son Patrick; Cecilia, the wife of William de Fenton, Lord of Beaufort, with issue† and Elizabeth Byset, who on her marriage to Andrew de Bosco (or de Bois), Lord of Redcastle, brought with her the lands of Black Isle and the estates of Kilravock.²⁶

According to Cosmo Innes, Mary, daughter of Elizabeth, married Hugh Rose of Geddes, and by 1349 the three granddaughters of Elizabeth (Byset) de Bosco, had released their claim to the lands of Kilravock to the Roses.

Andrew de Bosco died before 1291, leaving a son and heir Sir John de Bosco (or de Bois), who of course must have inherited a portion of his mother's property in the Aird, and, as Mackenzie remarks, "it is almost certain that the family of De Bosco (or De Bois), on acquiring by marriage a third of the Byset lands, . . . came to be known as 'De la Ard', or of the Aird." About this same time there appears in the records a John of the Aird who was a man of considerable prominence, as will be shown by a historical note quoted a little further on. Since the Bysets were the sole possessors of the Aird, it seems reasonable to conclude that Sir John de Bosco, inheritor of a third of the Byset property, and this John of the Aird were one and the same person. The following historical incident, given quite fully by Mr. E. Chisholm-Batten in his *Priory of Beaully*, but here quoted more or less directly from Mr. Mackay's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, illustrates the fact that John of the Aird was a man of consequence:

"At the battle of Dunbar, April, 1296, the Scots were defeated; among the prisoners taken by the English when Dunbar Castle subsequently surrendered, were John of Glen-Urquhart and his neighbors, Christian, son of John of the Aird, and two of the valiant Grahams of Lovat. These were all in the retinue of the Earl of Ross with whom they were sent in chains to England." King Edward marched north to Elgin and sent a detachment out to seize Urquhart Castle which he placed in charge of Sir William

*See Family of Byset.

†*Ibid.*

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Fitzwarine whose wife was Mary of Argyll,* widow of the King of Man and Sir Hugh Abernethy.

John of the Aird, desirous of procuring his son's liberty, offered his friendly offices to Fitzwarine, who, on the departure of King Edward for England, became hard pressed by the Highlanders. Fitzwarine, in gratitude for the assistance rendered by John of the Aird, wrote the following letter to the English king: "Be it known . . . that a certain noble man, who is called John of the Aird, has been diligent about our safety and in saving the lives of our boys, and has a son at Corff, who is called Christian, who was taken from the retinue of the Earl of Ross; for whom I supplicate that you will deign to send him to me, and in my aid to Urquhart; you knowing for certain that by the contemplation of him I shall have the country favorable and gracious; and where he is, serves you no purpose, and we shall have great favour by his presence in this country: and if this does not please you, retain him in your Court, if you please."²⁷

The English were finally driven out of Urquhart Castle which was entrusted by the Scots to the keeping of Sir Alexander de Bois (or Forbes).²⁸ It was retaken, after bravely withstanding a long siege, by the English, and Alexander de Bois (or Forbes) with all his followers were killed. Forbes's wife, who was with him in the castle, made her escape and fled to Ireland where she bore him a son named Alexander after his father. This Alexander, when Scotland was delivered out of English hands, went to Robert Bruce and desired the heritage of his father restored to him. As these lands had already been bestowed upon others, the king granted to "Alexander Boyis" certain territories in the earldom of Mar.²⁹ This Alexander de Bois (or Forbes) was a zealous supporter of the house of Bruce, and fell at the battle of Dupplin in 1332.³⁰

In 1322, a grant is made to Christian de Ard, knight, of one third part of the lands of Deskford in the vicinity of Banff.³¹ "The actual charter," states Chisholm-Batten, "which is printed in the *Collections relating to the Shire of Banff*, is granted in 1325 to Sir Christian de Forbes, Knight." This would seem to indicate that Christian de Ard and Christian de Forbes were identical. In 1325 a charter of Patrick de Graham, son of Sir David and Muriel (Byset) de Graham, is witnessed by Lord William de Fenton, his

*See Charts V^b and XVII^b.

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son John de Fenton, and John, son of Christian of the Aird. Again in a charter to the priory of Beaulieu by William de Fenton, son of William de Fenton, Lord of Beaufort and Cecilia Byset, his wife, dated February, 1328, one of the witnesses is "Domino del Ard, Milite." This was probably Sir Christian del Ard.

It has been shown that Sir Alexander de Bois, hero of Urquhart Castle, is also mentioned in history as Sir Alexander de Forbes, and that the name of Sir Christian del Ard, son of John of the Aird, is given in a charter for his lands in Banff, as Christian de Forbes. Since the Bysets were the sole proprietors of the Aird, it seems reasonable to conclude that Christian del Ard (or Forbes) and Alexander de Bois (or Forbes) were the sons of John de Bois (or Bosco), son of Andrew and Elizabeth (Byset) de Bosco. From charter evidence, it is known that Christian del Ard had a son John whose son and heir may have been the Weyland del Ard who married Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Strathearn, Orkney and Caithness. Weyland must have been a man of rank and importance in order to have been eligible for the hand of an earl's daughter.

Again Sir Alexander de Bois (or Forbes), who fell at the battle of Dupp-lin, 1332, may have been the father of Weyland as the latter named his only son "Alexander." It was customary for the eldest son to bear the name either of his father or grandfather. In seeking a solution to this problem, Mr. E. Chisholm-Batten writes: "... that the Christian de Ard, Knight, of 1322, was the Christian de Forbes, Knight, of 1325, and the suggestion that Alexander de Bois defender of Urquhart Castle may have been the first Forbes deserves consideration; for according to the traditions of the district, the lands afterwards acquired by the Chisholms in the Aird and in Strathglass through Margaret de la Ard, were originally possessed by the Forbes."

Now in 1359, "we have the first Acts of Homage which are successively recorded in the Register of Moray, in respect to the church land of Kiltarlity.* These Acts of Homage were three, by three co-portioners, a hundred years later than the time when John Byset in 1259 left his three daughters, his co-heiresses, seems to represent them. The co-portioners were William de Fenton, Hugh Fraser, and Alexander de Chisholme, who married Margaret de la Aird.

* John Byset founded the church of Kiltarlity.

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In 1359, William de Fenton, Lord of Beaufort, in the chapter of the church of Moray did homage for his part of the half davoch land of the Esse and Kiltarlity, which he held of the church of Moray. In 1367, Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat, portioner of the lands of Ard, in the chapter of the church of Moray, does homage to Alexander, the bishop, for his part of the half davoch land of Kiltarlity and Esse and for the fishing of Farrar. How Hugh Fraser came to succeed Patrick Graham as Lord of Lovat is not known.³² Tradition declares and Mackenzie states it as a fact that Hugh's mother, Margaret, the wife of Simon Fraser, was a Graham heiress. This theory is emphatically denied by other authorities.

"In 1368, on the Feast of the Blessed Trinity, in the chamber of Alexander, Bishop of Moray, at Spiny, in the presence of the whole multitude of canons and chaplains, and others invited thither to dinner, Alexander de Chisholme (so runs the register following the entries of the homage done by William de Fenton and Hugh of Lovat), co-portioner of the said William de Fenton, with joined hands and uncovered head, did homage to the bishop for the same lands of Esse and Kiltarlity."³³ The following chart shows the possible descent of Margaret del Ard:

d. 1258	Sir John Byset	
d. 1259	John Byset of the Aird	
	Elizabeth Byset = Sir Andrew de Bosco (or Bois)	
	John de Bosco (or Bois) of the Aird	
	Sir Alexander de Bois (or Forbes)	Christian del Ard (or Forbes)
		John del Ard
d. 1332	Alexander de Bois (or Forbes)	Weyland del Ard = Matilda, dau. Malise, Earl of Strathearn, etc.
	Weyland del Ard = Matilda, dau. Malise, Earl of Strathearn, etc.	Margaret del Ard = Alexander de Chisholme
	Margaret del Ard = Alexander de Chisholme	

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As William de Fenton in the preceding Acts of Homage was the representative heir of Cecilia Byset's third of the Byset property, and Hugh Fraser, through the Grahams, of Muriel Byset's third, it would seem conclusive evidence that Alexander de Chisholme, by right of his wife Margaret del Ard, represented Elizabeth Byset Bosco's branch, and that Margaret del Ard was most certainly a De Bosco (or De Bois). This view is also vigorously maintained by Alexander Mackenzie, and suggested by E. Chisholm-Batten and others. At all events there can be no doubt that Margaret del Ard was a descendant of the Bysets, as are all the Chisholms descended from her. The Chisholms are also connected with the distinguished Byset family through Janet Fenton, wife of Hugh Fraser.*

Margaret del Ard is styled Lady of Erchless in an indenture dated at Dunball in 1401, in which it was agreed between "Margaret, Lady of the Aird and Lady of Erchless, and Angus, son of Godfrey of Uist and Garmorran, and a grandson of John, the Good, Lord of the Isles," that the said Angus should marry Lady Margaret's daughter, Margaret de Chisholme upon certain conditions as to dowry.³⁴ In 1403, Margaret del Ard, and Thomas de Chisholme, her son and heir, agree with William de Fenton as to the lands of the Ard.†

Margaret del Ard had a brother Alexander of the Aird, who by right of his mother succeeded as Earl of Caithness and held rights over Orkney,³⁵ but he subsequently alienated the title and lands belonging to the earldom to King Robert II, whose son, David Stewart, became Earl of Strathearn. There are many charters, given in *Robertson's Index*, between this David Stewart and Alexander del Airde, relative to the latter's resignation of his lands. One refers to Alexander's resigning "the Castle of Brathwell and all lands thereof, and all other lands, as well, in Caithness as in any other part within Scotland which Alexander de la Arde inherited from his mother, Matilda Stratherne."³⁶ Alexander del Ard was made governor of Orkney by King Haakon of Norway. His cousin Henry Sinclair later became Earl of Orkney and Caithness.‡ Alexander must have died after 1379, as in that year "King Haakon established Henry Sinclair over the Orkneys

*See Clan Chart D.

Appendix.

†The indenture, which refers to numerous parcels of land, will be found in the

‡See Chart XX.

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and renewed his title." In his oath of fealty, or obligation,* Henry Sinclair refers to his cousin Alexander del Ard who, it would seem, must have been alive at the time. His death by others is given as 1376. At about the same time that Alexander, who having died without issue, relinquished his earldom of Caithness and lands in Banff, Sutherland, and Orkney, he resigned his possessions in the Aird to his sister and her husband Alexander de Chisholme,³⁷ who died about 1389.³⁸ He was succeeded by his son—³⁹

Thomas de Chisholme (IX) whose name appears in 1389 as one of the sureties for the good behavior of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, known as the Wolf of Badenoch, who had now come into possession of the Chisholm lands in the parish of Urquhart, and had leased from his brother David the remainder of the barony. The feuds between the Wolf and the bishops and clergy of Moray are too well known to warrant repetition here.† In order to increase his influence in the Highlands, Alexander married the widowed Euphemia, Countess of Ross; but he so humbled her by continuing his illicit relations with the beautiful but unprincipled Mariotta, daughter of Athyn, that she refused to live under his roof. Wishing to avoid further scandal within the royal family, the Bishops of Moray and Ross intervened on behalf of Euphemia; and an agreement was signed, November 2, 1389, whereby the Earl of Buchan promised to dismiss Mariotta and restore his wife to her lawful place in his heart and household. He gave as his sureties for the faithful performance of the sentence passed by the bishops, Robert, Earl of Sutherland; Alexander Moray of Culbin; and Thomas de Chisholme, constable of Urquhart Castle. These "great and notable persons," being present, undertook to pay to the bishops £200 for each transgression against the terms of the judgment.⁴⁰ However, regardless of the financial loss his friends might sustain, the Wolf soon resumed his career of lawlessness and terror. Mariotta was again given precedence over his wife for which disobedience and certain acts of violence against the church, he was excommunicated.

By way of revenge for clerical interference in his private affairs, he burned Forres in May, 1390 and on the seventeenth of June, of the same

* Translated in *Caithness Events*, p. 157.

them are given in *The Wolf of Badenoch*

† Interesting details of the enmity between

by Dick Lauder.

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year, he laid waste the town of Elgin, burning the noble and beautiful cathedral of Moray which is described by a chronicler of the time as "the mirror of our country and the glory of our kingdom." Most of the muniments of people of consequence in the county of Moray were usually deposited in the cathedral at Elgin. These were destroyed when the church was burned. This may account for the lack of certain definite facts relative to the early history of the Chisholms, who lived in that diocese and held many lands of the bishops. Later he regretted these sacrilegious deeds, and died July, 1394, penitent and absolved.

It was during the retention of Urquhart by the Earl of Buchan that his friend, Thomas de Chisholme, held the castle for the Crown, receiving from the king's exchequer about £14 Scots a month for its "keep and munition." In the Exchequer Rolls appear the following statements of his expenses: "£56 and £42 in the account for 1390-91; £26, 13S, 4d in the account for 1391-92; and £33, 6S, 8d in the account for 1394-95."*

On the 10th of May, 1394, Alexander of the Isles, Lord of Lochabar, agreed to take custody of all the lands of Moray for Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, excepting the lands of Hugh Fraser, Thomas de Chesholme, and Sir William of Forringham, among whom was a certain agreement concerning their lands, "probably a bond of manrent, needful enough in those times."⁴¹

The indenture dated at Kinrossie, April 25, 1403, between William de Fentoun of Baky on the one part and Margaret de la Aird, Lady of Erchless and her son and heir Thomas de Chisholme on the other, is referred to in the preceding pages under Alexander de Chisholme VIII, and is given in full in the Appendix. By this document the lands of the Aird were to stand undivided as of old. The agreement was confirmed by the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, July 13, 1413, and was again confirmed by King James IV in 1513.⁴²

Thomas de Chisholme married Margaret, daughter of Lachlan Mackintosh, VIII of Mackintosh†⁴³ by his wife Agnes, daughter of Hugh Fraser of Lovat.‡

His successor was his son Alexander de Chisholme (X), described as

* This is quoted from *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*.

† See Clan Chart E.

‡ See Clan Chart D.

Chisholm Chiefs

“Lord of Kinrossie,” who, dying without male issue, was succeeded by his brother—⁴⁴

Wiland de Chisholme (XI) who came into the chiefship and estates about 1443. He is described in the records as “Wylandus de Chisholm of Comar.” He was the son of Thomas de Chisholme, and was doubtless named Wiland for his great-grandfather Wyland del Ard; his elder brother, Alexander, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.

E. Chisholm-Batten suggests that “Wyland might have been a brother of Thomas,” but from certain authentic dates that would have been impossible.

Alexander, the brother of Wiland, granted to his only child, Catherine, on the occasion of her marriage to her cousin, Walter Haliburton, son of Walter, Lord of Dirlton, a charter of the lands of Pitcur. It was after this marriage that the Haliburtons of Pitcur included the boar’s head of the Chisholms in their coat-of-arms.

There is little of interest in the records relative to this Wiland de Chisholme; even his wife’s name is unknown. He was succeeded by his only son—⁴⁵

Wiland de Chisholme (XII), who is said to have been the first chief to be designated “The Chisholm.”

From the frequency of his name in the legal proceedings of the Highlands, Wiland seems to have been possessed of a somewhat militant or at least restless spirit. In October, 1499, in letters directed by the Lords of the Privy Council to David Ross of Balnagown, his name, “Welland of Comar,” appears among others as having plundered the lands of Ardmeanach and Redcastle while Hugh Rose of Kilravock was keeper or captain of the same. A warrant was issued by the Earl of Huntly, for the safety of certain gentlemen who were to proceed to force the offenders to pay for such “cows, horses, sheep, goats, capons, hens, geese, swine, sums of money and other goods taken by them from the said Hugh out of the lands of Ardmeanach.”⁴⁶ For this offense the lands and goods of “Welland Chisholm of Comar” were distrained, October 26, 1499, by order of King James IV.*

Soon after the death of King James IV at the disastrous battle of

**Invernessiana*, p. 173.

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Flodden, September 1, 1513, the standard of rebellion was again raised in the north by that redoubtable knight, Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, whose loyalty was ever of a doubtful quality. The battle of Flodden, now over and lost, he hastened to the Highlands where he collected his forces with a view of having himself proclaimed Lord of the Isles. At the head of a considerable army, aided by Alexander MacIain of Glengarry, Wiland de Chisholme of Comar, Alexander of Dunnyveg and the Macleods of Harris and Lewis, "Donald opened his campaign by invading the lands of John Grant of Freuchie in Urquhart, which he laid waste."⁴⁷ Urquhart Castle was besieged and the garrison expelled. The spoils were rich and varied, including furniture and provisions to the value of £100, 300 head of cattle, 1000 sheep and other valuable booty. Donald kept the castle until he made his peace with the Regent Albany in 1515. Two years later John Grant of Freuchie obtained a decree from the Lords of the Council against Sir Donald, Alexander of Glengarry, and Chisholme of Comar, for £2000 Scots at which price he estimated his loss.⁴⁸ This suit for damages, however, seems never to have been settled.

As has been before related, it was in the time of Simon, Lord Lovat, that the Chisholms came to have a footing in those lands in Strathglass that had formed part of the Lovat estates since 1415. On March 13, 1513, James IV granted Wiland de Chisholme in heritage the lands of Knockfin, Comar Mor, the two Invercannichs and the two Breackachies,⁴⁹ all lying in Strathglass, which he had apparently held since 1500. These lands were erected into the barony of Comar.⁵⁰ The precept for infeftment was under the Quarter Seal and dated April 9, 1513. It was at this time that the king confirmed the indenture of 1403 between William Fentoun of Baky and Margaret de la Aird and her son Thomas de Chisholme, Wiland's grandfather.

The following mandate, recorded in the Spaulding Club *Miscellany* II, xxxv, 83, and now quoted from *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, illustrates the terrible reprisals ordered by the royal government against offending Highland clans:

"The Clan Chattan which had given much trouble in connection with the claim of Ewen Maclean to Urquhart, 'became, under the leadership of Hector Mackintosh, such a scourge to their neighbors that a royal mandate was issued November, 1528, for their complete extermination.' Directed to

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the northern sheriffs, the Earl of Moray, Lord Lovat, Chisholm of Comar (this would be Wiland), John Grant of Freuchie, and other Highland potentates, the writ commanded them to invade the territories of the proscribed clan, and to utterly destroy them by slaughter, burning and drowning, and to leave none of them alive except priests, women and children; . . . the women and children were to be taken to the nearest port and put on board ships to be furnished at the King's expense, which would 'saill with thame furth of our realme and land with them in Jesland, Zesland, or Norway; because it were inhumanite to put handis in the blude of wemen and barnis'."

This mandate was never carried out as John Grant, the bard, died before the commission was issued and the remaining officials cited were slow or perhaps reluctant to carry out the order.

Wiland de Chisholme died soon after 1542 and was succeeded by his son—⁵¹

John Chisholme, (XIII) of Comar. There are several charters and public documents up to 1542 in which John is described "Master John Chisholm, son and heir of Wiland Chisholm," thus showing conclusively his parentage and that his father was alive at the time, otherwise he would have been known as "of Comar." One, and perhaps the most important, is the charter under the Great Seal by James V in favor of John Chisholme, eldest son of the said Wiland de Chisholme, of the lands mentioned in the charter of 1513, and "which had in the meantime been appraised to James IV for certain debts owing the Crown." This charter, which is dated March 13, 1538, erected the lands named into a barony in favor of John and his heirs. This is followed by an order under the Privy Seal by the king to his controllers and auditors to delete the lands mentioned in the charters from His Majesty's Exchequer Rolls.⁵²

On May 27, 1539, there is also an instrument of sasine on a charter by James V—which seems a repetition of the preceding one—granting John, under reservation of his father, Wiland's, life-rent, the lands previously enumerated in the charter of 1513, but including the "outsets and forests of Affric, Cullove, and Bramulich, in Strathglass—which were appraised in the hands of King James IV for certain sums of money due him by Wiland, and which James V in this year united into the barony of Comar Mor."

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This is the second reference to money Wiland de Chisholme owed the Crown, but the nature of these debts is unexplained. It would appear from these charters that John succeeded to his father's estates during the life of the latter.

Ten years prior to 1539, Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat, got James Hayburton of Gask to give up to him the whole of the barony of Erchless created in 1512. "Lovat had married a daughter of the chief of the Grants, the widow of Halyburton of Pitcur, and used the connection thus formed with the descendants of the Chisholm co-heirs of the founder of Beaully, to acquire much of that portion of the Byset property."⁵³

John Chisholme was evidently in high favor with the government, for his services and judgment were often in demand in settling disputes which, at that time, were of no rare occurrence in the Highlands. In 1547, his name appears in a "Charter of Apprising" recorded in the Register of the Great Seal.

After the unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Frasers of Lovat and Grants of Glenmoriston to aid the Earl of Huntly in restoring to Ranald Gallda the chiefship of Clan Ranald, held by John Macdonald of Moidart, which expedition ended in the fatal battle of Blar-nan-leine,* John of Moidart, aided by young Ewen Cameron, swooped down upon Glenmoriston and "swept the land of every hoof and article of food and furniture they could find. Never before or never after was a Highland raid so thorough." Suit was brought by the laird of Grant against Glengarry and young Lochiel, and certain of their lands were "denounced," the same to be appraised. The task of appraisal was assigned to "twenty-one men of probity and position." John Chisholme of Comar was one of those appointed.

Among the Chisholm private papers at Inverness was found this notice, the reference for which is *Acts of Parliament*, II, 354: "On 11th of August, 1542, John Chisholme de Comar obtained a remission of all offences from King James V. The transaction which subjected him to the pains of the law was that concerning which we find a long detail in the Acts of Parliament, and in which 'Maister John Chisholm is accused as one of the simulat and Feugeit assigns who intromitted with the guidis and errands of Archibald Douglass of Kilspindie' in the year 1539."

*The Field of the Shirts. See Family of Fraser.

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Alexander Fraser, Lord of Lovat, had received a better education than the other chiefs, his neighbors, for among the signatures of the general bond of manrent to the Earl of Huntly at Elgin, December 7, 1544, he signs his own name, while his neighbors, the chief of Mackenzie and The Chisholm, sign respectively, "John Mackenzie of Kintail with my hand on the pen, etc." and "Johne Chisholme of Cummyr, with my hand at the pen led by the said Maister James, notar publick."⁵⁴

John Chisholme died about 1555, for in that year Queen Mary granted to John, Earl of Sutherland, certain lands which "the deceased John Chisholme held of her."⁵⁵ His daughter Margaret married Duncan, son of John MacGillies Mackay who witnessed the sasine of John Chisholme in 1539.* William Mackay, barrister of Inverness, and a descendant of this Margaret Chisholme, is the present attorney for the Chisholm estates.

The successor to John Chisholme of Comar was his son—⁵⁶

Alexander Chisholme, (XIV) of Comar who on May 31, 1555, had a sasine of the family possessions as son of John Chisholme.⁵⁷ Mackenzie, in his *History of the Chisholms*, states that, "This sasine follows upon a precept furth of Chancery for infesting Alexander as heir special, served and retoured to his father John Chisholm of Comar."

At Inverness, October 15, 1563, John Campbell of Cawdor was served heir in the barony of Strathnairn, before James, Earl of Moray, then sheriff-principal. Among those on the jury were Alexander Chisholme of Comar and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail.⁵⁸

"On May 11, 1569, Lachlan Mackintosh wadsets the half davoch lands of Kinnairies to Alexander Chisholm of Comar, for five hundred merks, and the Chisholm grants a letter of reversion of the same date signed with his own hand. The wadset and redemption are renewed by the parties June 11, 1585, and again on the penult of May, 1589—Alexander Chisholm dying within a couple of months or so thereafter."⁵⁹

In the British Museum at London is a volume entitled, *Records of Inverness*, edited by William Mackay, L.L.D. and George Lainge. These records are extracts from the *Inverness Burgh Court Books*, covering periods from 1556 to 1586. The following are excerpts from these records: "The timber and bark industry was important. The principal sellers were, The Chis-

*Sasine in Erchless Castle.

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holm, Fraser of Aberchalder, and the proprietors of Glengarry, Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The trees were floated down Loch Ness and the river to the constant danger of the salmon cruives. Unfree dealers in timber are prosecuted."

"On May 5, 1565 The Chisholm (Alexander) of Commer brought suit against Johne Robartson, a burgess for timber sold him. On May 19, 1565 the judge returns a judgement in favor of The Chisholm. . . ."

"In 1565, The Chisholm guarantees that Kennoch McEachin, a son of the Laird of Gairloch, will appear for himself and his servants and accomplices in a complaint at the instance of Master Donald Fraser, Archdean of Ross, and that the Archdean and his servants, kinsmen, and friends, goods and gear, shall be harmless and skaithless."

"The Chisholms were active in opposing the advance of the Reformation and although the Perthshire branch from their near connection with the Roman Catholic Church were not prominently engaged in support of their establishment, the House of Chisholm did not remain idle spectators to the struggle. In 1579, Thomas Chisholm, son of Alexander, and later the fifteenth chief, was summoned to appear in Court on charge of treason" for his adherence to the ancient faith.⁶⁰

In 1587, the Parliament of Scotland passed a law "for the quieting and keping in obedience of the disorderit subjects inhabitantis of the Bordouris, Hielands and Ilis."⁶¹ By the general bond or agreement all the landlords of the kingdom were to be held responsible for the good behavior of their tenants and adherents.⁶² In the *Roll of the Names of the Landislordis and Baillies of Landis in the Hielandis, Quhair Broken Men His Duelt and Presentlie Duellis, 1587* appears the name of "Cheisholme of Cummer."* "Broken Men" were men living on debatable lands, types of freebooters. They acquired the name of "Mosstroopers" in the time of James I from their living in the mosses of the country.⁶³

Alexander Chisholme married Janet, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, X of Kintail,⁶⁴† and his wife, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of Sir John Stewart, second Earl of Atholl,‡ by his wife Janet, daughter of Archibald

*Alexander Chisholme was alive at this date. John Chisholme of Comar is mentioned in 1613 in a later list.

†See Clan Chart B.

‡See Chart V.

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Campbell, second Earl of Argyll.* Mackenzie gives the following confirmation of a charter as indisputable evidence of the marriage of Alexander Chisholme to Janet Mackenzie: "In 1577, James VII confirmed a grant in life-rent by Alexander Chisholm to his wife, Janet Mackenzie, eldest daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie X, ancestor of the Earls of Seaforth." As Mackenzie makes no mention where the confirmation of the above charter is recorded, it seems advisable to repeat here the reference to it that the present writer has given under The Stewarts, High Stewards of Scotland. In a letter to the compiler of this genealogy, dated January 15, 1932, Court of the Lord Lyon, H.M. Register House, Francis J. Grant, Lord Lyon King of Arms, writes: "In a manuscript Peerage in this office, dated about 1640, these statements (meaning the above statements of Mackenzie) are given, and as the date is only about 60 years after, it is likely they are quite correct."

This marriage of Alexander Chisholme to Janet Mackenzie forms one of the major lines connecting the Chisholms with the royal houses of England and Scotland. Janet Mackenzie was the widow of Angus (or Aenas) Macdonald, VII of Glengarry.† Their daughter Elizabeth married John Roy Mackenzie of Gairloch.‡

Alexander Chisholme died in 1589⁶⁵ and was succeeded by his son Thomas as the fifteenth chief, who had a sasine dated April 12, 1578, on the occasion of his marriage to Janet Fraser, daughter of James Fraser of Foyess.§ Janet was the widow of John Glassich Mackenzie, II of Gairloch.|| whose granddaughter married Alexander Chisholm, XVII of Comar.

Thomas Chisholme died soon after his father, Alexander, and was succeeded by his brother—⁶⁶

John Chisholme (XVI) who was served heir to his father Alexander Chisholme "by a special service before the sheriff of Inverness, December 19, 1590, in the lands of Knockfin, Comar Mor, the two Invercannichs, the two Breackachies," in fact the greater part of his father's estates.⁶⁷ The two Invercannichs are mentioned "with the mill thereof." It is interesting to note that erecting the machinery of a corn mill could not formerly be undertaken by any person of rank inferior to a baron, a bishop or a hereditary sheriff.

*See Chart VII.

†See Clan Chart C^a.

‡See Clan Chart B^b.

§See Clan Chart D.

||See Clan Chart B^b.

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Among the other recorded documents in the name of John Chisholme is one dated 1591, infefting him in the lands of his father "as heir served and retoured to the said Thomas Chisholm, his brother-german." It was during this John's chiefship that the Chisholm grasp of Strathglass became assured. In February, 1594, John became Simon, Lord Lovat's, tenant for the two Erchlesses and Comar-na-Cille on a tack of nineteen years. Twelve years later, he and his wife Janet Baynes have a charter from this same Lord Lovat of the lands of Erchless, followed on January 12, 1612, by a confirmation of this deed under the Great Seal. Again by a charter in 1614, Lovat alienates the lands of Comar Kirkton (Comar-na-Cille) to John and his wife. Thus it will be seen that John Chisholme eventually became proprietor of an extensive property in Strathglass. As this was a period of comparative peace in the Highlands, John's ambition appears to have been directed towards becoming a great landowner for the future benefit of his posterity, instead of participating in the civil affairs of his country.

However, among the *Transactions of the Iona Club*, pages 193-195, is a contract entered into by "John Chisholme of Comar and Alexander Chisholme, his eldest lawfull son and apperand air," together with Colin Mackenzie, first Earl of Seaforth, Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, Hector Munro of Clynes, John Grant of Glenmoriston, and John Bayne of Tulloch, including their respective kin. The purpose of the contract was for the protection and preservation of "deer, doe and roe on their several estates." It is true Parliament had enacted drastic laws against trespassers, such as for the theft of deer a heavy punishment, but the shooting of the same meant death to the offender. Still the Government had never been able to enforce the laws, and as poaching was on the increase these gentlemen had taken the matter into their own hands.

It will be seen by the different charters that Janet Bayne was John's first wife by whom he apparently had no male issue. His second wife was the eldest daughter of Alexander Mackenzie of Coul and Applecross⁶⁸* natural son of Colin Cám Mackenzie, XI of Kintail.† John's second wife, it is reported, "for some cause left no respectful recollection among the clan." John Chisholme died about 1630. His second son, Thomas, of Kinneries, "Tanastair," commonly called "Thomas Mor Mac-an-t-Siosalaich," was

*See Clan Chart B^b.

†See Clan Chart B.



MARY, DAUGHTER OF SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE
OF COUL AND APPLECROSS
AND WIFE OF JOHN DE CHISHOLME XVI

Married John Chisholm of Strathglass

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the ancestor of Colin Chisholm, author of *Traditions of Strathglass*.*

John Chisholme's heir and successor was his eldest son—⁶⁹

Alexander Chisholm (XVII) who is said to have been born several years after his parents had lived in wedlock. "He has an instrument of sasine in his favor of the whole lands and barony of Comar Mor following upon a precept of Chancery, dated July 17, 1630, for infefting him as heir, served and retoured, to his father, John Chisholme of Comar. The sasine is dated August 4, 1630, and is registered in the Parliament register of sasines for the shires of Inverness and Cromarty on the 12th of the same month."⁷⁰

That Alexander continued and carried out his father's policy of extending the Chisholm territory is evidenced by several deeds of land made out in his favor.

In 1643, the Parliamentary party of England and the extreme section of the Covenanters in Scotland entered into the bond and compact known as the Solemn League and Covenant. The famous Marquis of Montrose aided King Charles I in opposing these extremists and in supporting the more moderate Covenant of 1638. By the king's orders Montrose, with the Scottish Royalists, made up for the most part of troops from Ireland and Scots clansmen under Glengarry, and the captain of clan Ranald, including the Macdonalds from Urquhart and Glenmoriston, invaded the Lowlands. After his victories there, he went north, laid waste the county of Argyll, and pressed on towards Inverness which was held by the Earls of Seaforth and Sutherland, staunch supporters of the Solemn League. Before reaching Inverness, Montrose was defeated at Philliphaugh. His defeat was partially due to the fact that a few days before the engagement many of his Highlanders had returned home for the purpose "of securing their winter's fuel and doing the annual re-thatching of their houses." Passing through Glen Urquhart, these homeward-bound Highlanders made a raid into the Aird and carried off many head of cattle. A disagreement between Sir James Fraser and The Chisholm (Alexander) was one of the results of these depredations. Dr. William Mackay, who had access to the Chisholm archives, gives, in *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, the following interesting account of the incident: "Sir James Fraser of Brea, brother of Lord Lovat, and a keen

*See Clan Chart A.

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adherent of the Solemn League, proposed to drive them out, and called for the assistance of Alexander Chisholm of Comar. . . . Nothing, however, was done. Sir James blamed Chisholm, and caused the following instrument to be taken for the purpose of preserving evidence to be used against him in the day of triumph of the Covenant:

“ ‘Apud Erchless, undecimo die mensis Decembre, 1645.— That day compeirit Johne Fraser, grieve in Lovat, procurator for Sir James Fraser of Brey, Knight, before Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict, and the witnesses underwritten, and protestit and tuke instrument that Alex. Chisholme of Comar gave no assistance of his men to the publict cause in putting away of the publict enemy out Urquhart: for the quhilk cause John Fraser tuke instrument in my hand, Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict, day, yer, and place above-written, before thir witnesses, Alex. Fraser, of little Struy, John Grant of Corvony (Corriemony), Mr. Thomas Howestoun, with diverse others.’

“But The Chisholm had his own version of the tale to tell, and prudence suggested that he should state it to the notary. That official accordingly recorded the following on the same sheet of paper:

“ ‘The quhilk day, yer, and place, Alex. Chisholme of Chisholme of Comar compeirit before Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict forsaide, and the witnesses forsaide, and tuke instrument that he haid more men upone the Lord Lovat’s land in the campe still with my Lord’s men there as (than) ye saids lands culd affoorde.

“ ‘As also, the said Alex. Chisholme of Comar tuke instrument in the hands off me, Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict, in presens off ye witnesses forsaide, that the said Alex. Chisholme of Comar offerit to go with his whole men in Straglais (Strathglass) after the enemy if so be that Sir James Fraser and the rest of the kin of Fraser wold go, quhilk Sir James and all the rest of the specialls off the friends refusit, quhilk the said Alex. Chisholme will qualifie before famous witnesses: (i.e., prove by witnesses of reputation) all this was done, day, yer, and place foresaid,—Per me,

“ ‘Al. Dunbar, Norum Pubm’

“No legal proceedings seem to have followed on these formal writs which are preserved at Erchless Castle; but the Covenanting zeal of Sir James Fraser of Brea brought down upon his clan the vengeance of Montrose,

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who, on his return to the Highlands, after the battle of Philliphaugh, dealt out such chastisement to them that, according to testimony of Rev. James Fraser, not a horse, or a cow, or a sheep, or a fowl was left in their country from Inverness to Guisachan."

After the execution of King Charles I, the Scottish adherents of the Solemn League and Covenant invited his son Charles II to come from Holland to which country he had fled, and become their king. But the conspiracy against the Commonwealth was suppressed by Cromwell, and General Middleton, who had been defeated by Morgan, became a fugitive among the Scottish mountains. On his way through Strathglass in the fall of 1654, he and his followers "were hospitably entertained by The Chisholme. For this offense against the Commonwealth that chief was, in April, 1655, tried by Court martial, fined £50, and imprisoned in Edinburgh. He was released on giving bonds for his future good conduct, and permitted to return to his own country."⁷¹

The Chisholm passport which is still preserved at Erchless Castle will be found in the Appendix. The court martial proceedings were held at Erchless Castle.

Alexander Chisholm married his cousin, a daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, V of Gairloch.⁷²* His son Colin was the progenitor of the Chisholms of Knockfin.† Alexander probably died in 1659. In that year there was great mortality among the gentry of the Highlands. "Alexander Chisholme of Commer died in Brackach this harvest, September 24, and was buried in Beuly. Here my Lord Lovat had occasion to muster his men, for at this burriall he had 800 brave fellowes."[‡] Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son Angus, usually designated "An Siosal Cám," or the one-eyed Chisholm. In 1658 Angus XVIII was given a colonel's commission for the command of either horse or foot within the sheriffdom of Inverness, and, by the Act of Parliament of putting the country in a state of defense, he appears in the list of those whose station entitled him to the command of national troops, in other words he was empowered to arm and command his clan.⁷³ On his death, he was succeeded by his brother—⁷⁴

Alexander Chisholme (XIX). He was served as heir general on June 19,

*See Clan Chart B^b.

‡Wardlaw MS.

†See Clan Chart A^b.

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1677, and had a sasine following thereon on the 11th of April, 1678, which was registered in the *Particular Register for Inverness-shire*, April 19, of the same year. But he must have come into the chiefship before this date as in the *Records of Inverness Burgh Court Books* occurs the following item: "September 27, 1675—The Magistrates and Councils declare that John Forbes of Culloden et al. who combined against the Town Council are incapable of public trust with the exception of Alexander Chisholme of Comar 'with quhoes deportment the present Magistrates and Counsells ar fullie satisfied, and they therefor declare him capable of public trust among them.' " The fact of his being mentioned "of Comar" would indicate that he had already succeeded his father and brother. It may have been that his title to the estates of his father was withheld on account of some misdemeanor; for, some years previous to the above declaration of the Magistrates, is the record, in the *Inverness Burgh Book*, of a report dated March 19, 1666, by the Commissioners appointed to go to Edinburgh in connection with the action against Lord Macdonald. In it "the Commission complains that they were greatly prejudiced and hindered by John Forbes, Alexander Chisholme et al." On September 25, 1671, appears the following in the *Burgh Records*: "The Counsell ownes as ther concernment the escape of Alexander Chisholme of Comer, quha escaped out of the tolbooth in the month of October, 1668, and obleiss tham to keep the Magistrates than in charge harmless and skaithless from all danger that may aryse throu his escape."

When, in 1688, Prince William of Orange landed in England and drove King James from his throne, many of the Highlanders, under the leadership of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, championed the cause of the dethroned king with varying success. After the famous battle of Killlicrankie, July 27, 1689, in which the valorous Dundee lost his life, the enthusiasm of some of the Highland chiefs in the cause of the king began to wane, owing perhaps to the lack of an able and understanding leader; nevertheless, many continued to withhold their allegiance to William and Mary even after the Battle of the Boyne, June, 1690, had forever extinguished the hopes of the sceptreless King James.

In 1689, a detachment of the Strathnaver and Grant regiments from Brahan Castle and Castle Leod accompanied by a party of horse under Lieutenant-Colonel Lumsden, were ordered to march against a body of High-

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landers who had collected after the battle of **Killicrankie**, and had possessed themselves of **Erchless Castle** in which they had resolved to defend themselves and the honor of the **House of Stewart**. The castle was besieged and finally carried by storm, when great quantities of provisions were found within the stronghold. Major Mackay, with four companies of Grants, was left to defend the castle, and to check on the disaffected. The next summer, 1690, they were attacked by five hundred **Highlanders** to whom they would have been compelled to surrender had not Colonel Livingston promptly marched from **Inverness** and relieved the garrison.⁷⁵

Alexander Chisholme married the eldest daughter of **Roderick Mackenzie, I of Applecross**.^{76*} He was succeeded by his eldest son **John XX**. The descendants of Alexander's second son, Theodore, are given in the succeeding pages.

It will be noticed that in all the public records of the **Highland Chisholms'** name, the final "e" was retained; but the generations following Alexander seem to have dropped it, thus distinguishing them from the **Border branch** in whose signature the final "e" always appeared.

The following interesting note relative to Alexander Chisholme **XIX** occurs in the **Wardlaw MS.**: "The Christmas of 1672, Lord Lovat spent with **Hugh Fraser of Struy**, who also, among other notables entertained 'Chisholm of Commer and his Lady'. And The Chisholm prevailed with my Lord Lovat to take his New Yeare with him at **Earchles**, where they kept the feast of Circumcision splendidly." January 6, the Feast of Epiphany, Lord Lovat invited The Chisholm, his lady and children, Struy and **Glenmoriston** to keep with him. "The **Earl of Seaforth** was not able to be present which he regretted 'as he had a singular kindness for his cousin Chisholm. . . . Nothing was spared to make the feast sumptuous . . . great fare, good wines . . . and brave musick . . . **Hugh Chisholm** with base and trible viol, the best in the North.' "

*See **Clan Chart B^a**.

Family de Vipount, Veterepont, or Vipont



THE name of this ancient and honorable family, who were hereditary barons and sheriffs of Westmoreland, is derived from Vieuxpont-en-Ange, near Caen. The name has now become extinct or changed. Robert, Lord of Vieuxpont, is mentioned in the Battle Abbey Roll, while Sir William Vieuxpont is described by Wace as taking part in the Battle of Hastings. William died before the completion of the Domesday Book, but the name of his son, who held Hardingston in Northamptonshire, appears in it. "The Duchess of Cleveland," states Baring-Gould, "claims that 'after Hastings, the Viponts were advanced to great honors.'"

According to Dr. William Garnett Chisholm, "another Robert Vipount, Lord of Westmoreland, whose mother was Maud, daughter of Hugh de Moreville, was a favorite of King John . . . from whom he received large grants of land for his services, among them being the barony of Appleby which included, together with forty-seven others, the Lordship of Bolton, to hold to him and his heirs by the wife he then had." The grant was dated October 28, 1204. This Robert was a very important person, "being at various times custodian of Windsor Castle; Constable of Nottingham Castle; Sheriff of the counties of Derby, Westmoreland, Wiltshire and Devonshire; Governor of Carlisle, and Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He married Idonea, daughter and heiress of John de Buily, Lord of Tickhill, and died in 1228." John P. Yeatman gives the name of Idonea's father as John de Busli, son of Richard, founder of Roche Abbey, Yorkshire. The eldest son of Robert and Idonea de Vipount, John de Vipount, who married Sibilla, daughter of the Earl of Derby, was named as a defendant in a suit brought by the Countess of Eu, who claimed the honor of Tickhill (or Techill).

William de Vipount, Lord of Bolton, whose daughter Emma married John de Chisholme, was probably a younger son of Lord Robert as he is mentioned only as inheriting the barony of Bolton.

NOTE: This outline of the Vipounts is based on the authority of Baring-Gould's *Battle Abbey Roll*; Wace's *Roman de Rou*; John P. Yeatman's *Genealogy of the Viponts*; Dr. William G. Chisholm's *Chisholm Genealogy*.

Family of Lauder



THE ancient seat of this family was the Isle of Bass. This was a small rocky island within the Forth about a mile from the south shore. It is inaccessible on all sides except by one narrow passage. Upon the top is a spring which formerly furnished water for the force that garrisoned Lauder Castle, now in ruins. For many generations the Lauders refused to sell this stronghold even at the request of their king. At one time King James VI offered the laird of Lauder any sum he pleased to ask for it, to which Lauder is said to have replied: "Your Majesty must e'en resign it to me, for I'll have the auld craig back again." At length, the family fortune, having fallen on evil days, it was purchased by Charles II, and for some time used as a prison for the western conventers. Later it came into possession of a desperate crew of pirates, who only surrendered it when their provisions were exhausted.

The Lauders—variously spelled De Lawadyr and Lawedre—were of Anglo-Norman descent.

Sir Robert de Lauder is said to have been a firm friend and supporter of Sir William Wallace. On the accession of King Robert the Bruce to the Scottish throne, he was sent as one of the ambassadors to England and, again in 1323, he was a member of the peace commission to arrange terms with Edward II. His name appears many times in *Robertson's Index* as the recipient of forfeited lands granted him by King Robert I.

In the indenture for the marriage of David, eldest son of King Robert I, with Johanna, daughter of Edward II of England, concluded at Edinburgh, March, 1327, and ratified at Northampton, May, 1328, "Hugh, Earl of Ross and Robert de Lawdre, Justiciary of Lothian," swore on the Holy Gospels to the faithful performance of the stipulations relative to the marriage and all other articles of the treaty. Henry de Percy is given as surety for the King of England.*

Sir Robert was present at the battle of Halidon Hill, but was too feeble from age to dismount from his horse and fight. His son—

* *Robertson's Index*, pp. 101-103.

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Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, known as “Lauder the Good,” was also present at that disastrous engagement of the Scots. After this battle he and his retainers hurried home for the defence of that old but formidable fortress of the north, Urquhart Castle, of which Sir Robert had been appointed constable, or governor. He also held the important office of Justiciar of the North. The next year after Halidon Hill the English forces appeared before Urquhart Castle, but were successfully repulsed by the governor, and it continued a stronghold of the patriotic party until peace was restored to Scotland.

Sir Robert was a warm supporter of the Church as well as State. John, Bishop of Moray, granted “to the noble person of Sir Robert de Lawadyr, Knight, for his manifold services done to our said Church . . .” the half davoch of Aberbreachy and certain other church lands. The deed for this grant was dated at Elgin on the Feast of St. Nicholas (6th of December) 1334. This property was afterwards possessed by his grandson, Sir Robert de Chisholme. Dr. William Mackay, in *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, refers to Lauder’s hospitality in the following terms: “Within the old walls of his castle, Sir Robert entertained right royally. Among the guests who were met together there on July 4, 1342, were William, Earl of Ross; Reginald, son of Roderick of the Isles; the Bishop of Moray; the Bishop of Ross; and many other men of distinction—a goodly company truly.”

In 1359, Sir Robert Lauder resigned his office as governor of Urquhart Castle, and was succeeded by his grandson Sir Robert de Chisholme. “On May 1, 1362, he founded a Chaplainry in the Cathedral Church of Moray at the altar of St. Peter, for his own soul and the souls of his ancestors, and particularly for the soul of Hugh, Earl of Ross.”* The date of Sir Robert’s death is unknown, but he must have lived to an advanced old age. Mr. E. Chisholm-Batten in his *Priory of Beaulieu*, asserts that “the Lauders of Bass were a stout race.”

“He was as true a patriot and as brave a knight as ever fought in Scotland’s cause.” Such is the tribute paid him by Doctor Mackay.

NOTE: The preceding sketch is based on *Robertson’s Index*; Charles Fraser-Mackintosh’s *Invernessiana*; Doctor Mackay’s *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*; Cameron

Lee’s *History of Inverness-shire*; Robert Forsyth’s *Beauties of Scotland*, et al.

*Reg. Morav, 309—quoted from *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*.



URQUHART CASTLE, IN INVERNESSHIRE

Urquhart Castle



URQUHART Castle, of which Sir Robert de Chisholme and his grandson Thomas de Chisholme were governors, is now fallen into decay. It stands on the west side of Loch Ness, in a romantic situation commanding a beautiful view of Loch Ness almost from one end of it at Fort Augustus, to the other at Bona. The loch washes the east wall of the castle, but the other three sides were formerly fortified by a strong rampart, a ditch and a drawbridge. The rock upon which it stands is crowned by the remains of a high wall, or curtain, surrounding the building, the principal part of which, a strong square keep of three stories, is still standing, surmounted by four square hanging turrets. There is a peculiar arrangement in the windows for pouring molten lead upon the heads of the assailants. Within the castle were accommodations for from five to six hundred men. It was the most extensive of the Highland strongholds.

Tradition relates that in the latter part of the twelfth century Urquhart was ruled by the mighty Conachar, presumably of the royal house of Ulster. After his death, it was in the possession of several notable families, at different periods. In 1303, the fort was reduced by King Edward I, and Sir Alexander Comyn was made constable. Later it was retaken by the supporters of Bruce. Twice—in 1334 and 1335—it was bravely and successfully defended against the attacks of the English, by Sir Robert Lauder. Notwithstanding the continued devastation of the surrounding country by the English, then in the cause of Edward Balliol, Lauder remained loyal to his absent king, and refused to open the gates to the invaders who were finally driven back across the Border.

In 1359, Sir Robert de Chisholme succeeded his aging grandfather as constable of Urquhart, but by 1390 Sir Robert relinquished his post to his grandson, Thomas, son of Alexander de Chisholme and his wife Margaret de la Aird.

In 1370 the castle and barony of Urquhart were bestowed by Robert II upon his son David, Earl of Strathearn, but afterwards it passed into the possession of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, known as the Wolf of Badenoch, who, as a friend of Thomas de Chisholme, continued him in office as con-

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stable. The title to Urquhart was often in dispute, but finally, in 1509, James IV granted the castle with the estates and lordship of Urquhart to the laird of Grant in whose hands it has remained. Previous to 1509, the Grants occupied the castle and lands as the king's chamberlains.

The remains of the castle now standing are claimed by some authorities to be the ruins of a stronghold scarcely older than the fifteenth century; but "Alastair Og," a contributor of an article in the *Celtic Magazine*,* declares that "the mouldings of the corbel table, which are as sharp as on the day they were first carved, indicate a date about the beginning of the fourteenth century."

Whether or not the picturesque old ruins now seen on Loch Ness are the remains of a castle built in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, at least there can be no dispute that the massive entrance towers, whose ruins still guard the only landward approach, were erected during the reign of Edward I, as they are of an architectural design peculiar to that period.

*Vol. I, p. 186.

NOTE: Authorities for many facts contained in the preceding sketch include Dr. William Mackay's *Urquhart and Glen-*

moriston; *Beauties of Scotland* by Robert Forsyth; *Priory of Beaully* by E. Chisholm-Batten; *Celtic Magazine*; Charles Fraser-Mackintosh's *Invernessiana*.

VII

The Families of Byset and Fenton



THE name of John Byset, who was a member of a distinguished Norman family, first appears in the register of the Abbey of Newbattle, in 1204; and at intervals thereafter figures prominently in the annals of the north. In England the Bysets were a family of baronial rank. They held high office in the court of the Plantagenets and witnessed the confirmation of the Magna Charta. They were always liberal patrons of the Church. "Their name is enshrined in the designations of such parishes as Preston Byset in Buckinghamshire, and Combe Byset in Wiltshire. In the latter county Manassar Byset, a member of the household of King Henry II, founded a house for lepers at Maiden Bradley."*

William the Lion, on his return from captivity in England (1174), was accompanied by many Anglo-Normans of high rank, who had left England to seek their fortunes at the Scottish court, and were granted valuable lands in the country of their adoption. Among these are mentioned the Bysets. It was doubtless in recognition of the material assistance rendered by the Norman knights to King William, in suppressing the Celtic uprising in the north under the leadership of Donald Bane, that the king bestowed upon them these important grants.

John Byset first appears as the Lord of Aird in Moray about 1218. He must have been the first of the family who acquired the lands of Aird, for the king's confirmation expressly states that this princely domain had been granted to John Byset personally. The Aird included the parishes of Kirkhill and Kiltarlity in Moray,† the parish of Kilmorack, the Castle of Ed-dirdor with the lordship of Ardmeanach in the Black Isle in Ross-shire, together with the castle and lands of Kilravock in Nairnshire. Few Scottish subjects have received such signal tokens of a sovereign's favor and regard. On October 5, 1221, there is a record of an agreement between the Lord of the Aird and Bricius, Lord Bishop of Moray, in which Byset is to release to the bishop the patronage of the church of Dumballoch; and in turn, the bishop releases to Sir John the revenues of the church of Coneway. Byset

**Priory of Beaulieu* by E. Chisholm-Batten. †Reg. of the See of Moray.

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also grants to the church of Dumballoch seven acres of ground “for the repose of his father’s soul.” He founded the church of Kiltarlity and gave it a parish. This new parish included Erchless, a davoch in the earldom of Ross.* As an atonement for his own sins, he granted fifteen merks of silver† and a stone of wax yearly from the famous bees of Strathglass for the lights upon the altar of that church. In return, the bishop and clergy of the chapter of Rosemarkie “gave John Byset and his heirs an interest in the prayers offered at that shrine.”‡ The Bishop of Ross transferred the stone of wax to the Bishop of Moray, who later claimed certain lands from John Byset the younger, because he had failed to furnish the wax.

John Byset, the elder, next proceeds to devote the revenues of the church of Kiltarlity to the House of Lepers at Rathaven, Banffshire. In addition, he gave of his own private income “a sufficient amount to maintain a chaplain and a servant to attend them, seven being the number thus supported.” He stipulated that his charity was specially for the souls of King William and Alexander II, both of whom had been munificent patrons of the Baron of the Aird. Sir John’s chief and most widely known benefaction to the Church was the founding of Beaulieu Priory in 1230, “an institution calculated to create an atmosphere of peace and culture in a rude and ignorant age.”

While his original seat in the north was probably at Lovat, he doubtless built the Castle of Beaufort giving it a foreign name instead of the old Celtic designation “dunie,” meaning beautiful fort, or stronghold. In 1242, during a tournament at Haddington, where the king was holding a congress of notables, one of the Bysets—some say Walter, Lord of Aboyne, others William—was unhorsed by Patrick, the young Earl of Atholl and son of Thomas of Galloway. Soon afterwards, Atholl was slain, and, to conceal the crime, the house in which he was sleeping at Haddington was burned. The Bysets could not clear themselves from the charge of complicity in this unchivalrous deed, although Sir Walter established an alibi by the Queen of Scotland testifying that at the time that the murder was committed she

*A davoch was as much arable land as would employ four ploughs, and this in so hilly a country as Strathglass would carry with it probably a large district of pasture. E. Chisholm-Batten.

†A merk equaled 13 pences and $\frac{1}{3}$ penny sterling.

‡Macdonald’s *The Old Lords of Lovat and Beaufort*.

Families of Byset and Fenton

and her husband, the king, were being entertained at his Castle of Aboyne. However, it was declared that his followers were present on the night of the crime with his consent. Highland history discloses that, in times far later, it was impossible to restrain the vengeance of such followers when insult or injury was done to their leaders. Through the intrigues of a powerful party, headed by their enemies, the Comyns, Sir Walter and his nephew, Sir John Byset, were obliged to leave the north never to return.

King Henry of England, needing soldiers to serve in his war with France, commissioned an official to offer John Byset a knight's fee in Ireland if he would aid him. This fee included the island of Rachlin, or Rathlin, off the coast of Antrim, destined later to become famous as the retreat of Robert Bruce.* Sir John settled in the Glens of Antrim and, being a widower, married a lady described in deeds as "Lady Agatha," through whom he came into possession of extensive property. Sir John and Lady Agatha were the ancestors of Marjorie Byset, heiress of the Seven Tuoghs, who married John Mor Macdonald of Dunnyveg.†

In 1243, the English king declared war against Scotland—some say at the instigation of the Bysets—but peace was soon restored and in the treaty of Ponteland, 1244, the name of John Byset, the younger, appears in the list of those connected with the treaty. The elder John Byset died in Ireland in 1258.

When the elder John Byset was forced into exile he was succeeded in his northern estates by his son John, Lord Lovat, who is on record as having some disagreement with the Bishop of Moray who laid claim to certain lands lying within the barony of the Aird. The matter was referred to the Pope who appointed the bishop and Dean of Ross to try the case which was settled in Byset's favor. Sir John Byset died in 1259, leaving as his heirs three daughters, Elizabeth, who married Sir Andrew de Bosco (or Bois); Muriel, who married Sir David de Grahame, and Cecilia, who became the wife of—

Sir William de Fenton, or Fentoun, "a landed magnate of East Lothian, who derived his name from his hereditary estates in that region." Later, acquiring the lands of Baky in Forfarshire, he was known as Lord of Baky. He was the son of John de Fenton, who, during the brief reign of John

*See Lords of the Isles.

†See Clan Chart C^c.

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Balliol, gave "two tofts and two acres of land with the fishing of one net in the water of Tay, to Nicholas of Hay, Lord of Errol, by a charter to which Patrick de Graham, knight, was a witness."*

In 1280, William de Fenton is on record as Lord of Beaufort in the Aird, in right of his wife, Cecilia Byset. Although he possessed a house at Fenton, and the Castle of Baky, his principal place of residence was Beaufort Castle. During the years 1279 and 1280, serious trouble arose between Sir William and the ecclesiastical powers regarding the rights of salmon fishing on the Beaully river. The disagreement became so acute that the Pope was appealed to as mediator. The delegates appointed by the Holy See threatened that, unless the Lord of Beaufort and his wife gave heed to the Church's decision in the matter, they would be excommunicated throughout the district "with peeled bells and lighted candles." Indeed the Church went so far as to declare that a sentence of interdict would be pronounced should they continue to disobey. These dire threats eventually brought about the desired results, although several years passed before the dispute was finally settled.

That the Fentons supported the cause of Scottish independence is evidenced by the fact that in 1296 a detachment of King Edward I's army was sent to lay siege to Beaufort Castle. "Huge stones and leaden balls were hurled from mighty catapults at the castle walls of Beaufort." The defenders were at last obliged to surrender, and the castle was dismantled by the English.† Beaufort Castle was taken a second time by Oliver Cromwell and its inner citadel blown up. It fell for the third time into the hands of the English after the battle of Culloden and was entirely razed to the ground.

Sir William de Fenton must have died before 1315, as about that date is a charter by his widow, Cecilia Byset, of her third of the lands of Altyre near Beaully "to God and the Blessed Mary and John the Baptist and the brethren of Valliscaulians serving God in the Priory of Beaully, for the salvation of her own soul and the souls of her ancestors and successors." William de Beaufort, Lord of Beaufort, was succeeded by his son—

Sir William de Fenton, who on February 14, 1328, granted a charter, giving to the brethren of the monastery of Beaully, two merks a year "to be

*Spaulding Club *Misc.*, vol. II, p. 311. *Fraser*, pp. 17-18.

†Anderson's *Account of the Family of*

Families of Byset and Fenton

provided out of the multures of the Mill of Beaufort," at which castle the charter was drawn up.* It was probably this Sir William's son—

Sir William de Fenton, who in 1359 did homage in the cathedral of Moray for his share of the half davoch land of Esse and Kiltarlity. On February 26, 1362, King David II confirms a charter of William de Fenton to his chapel of Baky, of land in Kinross.†

The William de Fenton mentioned in the indenture of 1403,‡ between Margaret de la Aird and her son Thomas de Chisholme on the one part and William de Fenton on the other, must have been the grandson of the preceding Sir William, as the one who signed the indenture was alive until shortly before 1422, on which date he was succeeded in all his estates, including the Castles of Baky and Beaufort, by his son Walter.§

The De Fenton who signed the above indenture had a sister Janet who married Hugh Fraser of Lovat. Janet's father was no doubt dead since her brother, William de Fenton, as Lord of Beaufort and Baky, signed a contract, dated March, 1416, in which the Lord of Lovat was to take to wife Janet, sister to the Lord Fenton, who, in contemplation of the marriage, disposed to Lord Lovat and the said Janet the lands of Guisachan, Maule, Eskadale and other properties in Strathglass and the barony of the Aird.|| The marriage articles are in the old Scottish language, and describe the parties in the indenture as "tua noble lordis and knychtis."

By this marriage of Janet de Fenton to Hugh Fraser, the Chisholms trace descent from the noble House of Byset. The marriage of John Mor of Dunnyveg to Marjorie Byset¶ gives them another connection with this family. Still a third line is traced by the marriage of Margaret de la Aird to Alexander de Chisholme.

The male line of the De Fentons became extinct in 1438 on the death of Walter de Fenton whose only surviving heirs were his four daughters.

* Macdonald's *The Old Lords of Lovat and Beaufort*.

† Robertson's *Index*.

‡ See confirmation of indenture in Appendix.

§ E. Chisholm-Batten's *Priory of Beaully*.

|| Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. 114, no. 95.

¶ See Clan Chart C^c.

NOTE: This outline of the Bysets and Fentons is based on the authority of Anderson's *Account of the Family of Fraser*; Macdonald's *The Old Lords of Lovat and Beaufort*; *The Scots Peerage*; E. Chisholm-Batten's *Priory of Beaully*; Robertson's *Index*, et al.

VIII

The Priory of Beaully



AT the end of the well-kept business thoroughfare in the village of Beaully, surrounded by an iron fence, shaded by clusters of venerable trees, and flanked by the graves of numberless generations of Scottish Highlanders, stands the picturesque ruins of the ancient Priory of Beaully, sheltered by a huge elm that sprang up within its walls some hundred years ago. Inside all is silence and desolation. "Decaying monuments of monks and heroes give a transient solemnity to the recollection of past ages. The thought of these courts having often echoed with the glad Te Deums of thousands, who, along with their temple, are now mouldering into dust, deepens the veneration which these hallowed ruins inspire."* Neglected, overgrown with grass and mosses is this burial place of the mortal remains of the Lords of Lovat, and knights and chiefs of the families of Mackenzie and Chisholm. The whole floor of the abbey is crowded with tombstones of various ages, many of them, doubtless, coeval with itself, which was built in the thirteenth century. The most ancient of these stones appear to have been the lids of stone coffins. On each is a cross ornamented with various emblems, but no lettering.

The principal approach to the abbey is through the churchyard gate and under an arch, to the west of which is the latest part of the building, being of a simple fifteenth century design. Here is an arched portal surmounted by a small trefoil niche. But before entering upon a description of the ruins of the priory, it might be well to give something of its early history. The story of the origin and foundation of Beaully Priory is one of interest and is best told by E. Chisholm-Batten in his *History of the Priory of Beaully* from which account the following facts were taken: Viard, a lay brother of the Charter House of Louvigny in the diocese of Longres, in Burgundy, believing himself called to a life of greater severity and freedom from temporal cares, obtained permission to retire as a hermit to a cavern in a wood a few miles distant. There he practised the most extraordinary austerities. The Duke of Burgundy came often to visit him, and on one occasion

*Rev. Charles Cordiner's *Antiquities*, 1780.



PRIORY OF BEAULIEU

Priory of Beauly

vowed if success should attend the ducal arms in a certain military expedition, a monastery would be founded on the spot that Viard had made holy, and that Viard should be its head. Viard supplied his vegetable stores by his own labor. In this way, doubtless, the valley in which his cavern was situated acquired the name of "Vallis Caulium," or the Valley of Herbs.

The Duke returned victorious and built the promised monastery, Viard being made its first prior. No house of this order was ever established in England, but twenty-five years after the confirmation of the new rules, three houses were founded in Scotland. One of these Valliscaulian monasteries, whose inmates were almost hermits, was placed, through the generosity of Sir John Bysset, in Beauly at the head of the Beauly Firth. It was dedicated to John the Baptist in 1230. The house of Beauly was located opposite the wooded hills of Balbair, surrounded by level land productive of the finest wheat and grasses. To this spot, John Bysset and his protégés, the monks, gave a new name—"Bellus Locus," beautiful place. Tradition states that "in the house of the priest who officiated in this priory, Queen Mary was entertained for a night, and upon seeing in the morning the beautiful view from its windows, she exclaimed, 'C'est un beau lieu!' and hence the name Beauly was given to the village and the river."

According to the rules of this monastic order their own salvation and not the rescue of others was the object of their retreat from the world. They kept no oxen or sheep and had marked bounds beyond which none were permitted to wander except the prior. Their garments consisted of a white wool cassock over which they wore a long black cloak when going abroad. Sandals for their feet were allowed, but no stockings, neither were shirts nor other underwear permitted.

The subsequent history of the priory mainly concerns the acquisition of its lands by Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat, who secured possession through the influence of the Earl of Huntly, although Colin Mackenzie of Kintail made desperate efforts to gain control. About 1493, the Priory of Beauly was repaired at the expense of the superior, a natural son of Alexander of Kintail; but these alterations by Prior Mackenzie were for the most part "confined to piercing the wall between the transepts and the nave to afford room for his own tomb and that of his brother, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie." Later it became generally used as a burial place for the Mackenzies. Behind the iron

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grilled door and window of the chapel at the right of the altar lie the remains of several Mackenzies. This part of the priory, which now belongs to the Crown, was restored by Lady Mackenzie. In the enclosure lies the body of her son who was killed in France. One of the most recent and best preserved tombs near the chancel is that of William Chisholm, XXIV of Comar, who died March 22, 1817.

Alexander Fraser of Lovat is credited with having built a beautiful steeple of carved oak which stood upon the western gable of the priory. Hugh Fraser of Lovat, the husband of Janet Fenton, is supposed to have erected the north work of the church and the chapel of the Holy Cross.

“Placed on the edge of the wild Highland country of Wester Ross and Inverness-shire, the Priory of Beaully was likely to suffer from the invasion of the more settled parts of the north, especially from the rough tribes who gave their allegiance to the Lords of the Isles. For protection against such dangers, in 1506, the Prior had applied to Rome and obtained a Bull of Excommunication against any plunderers of the Priory.”*

In 1633, when Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, was buried at Beaully, the last of the monks, who had resided in the monastery for nearly four hundred years, had disappeared, and the stone from the priory buildings is said to have been used by Hugh Lovat in 1665 in building his new residence in Beaully. In 1691, the church and such of the priory buildings that remained reverted to the Crown, but the family of Lovat continued to hold the Beaully lands until their forfeiture in 1745. Today nothing remains of the priory buildings except the church which is still to be seen, roofless, but otherwise in a fine state of preservation.

The style of architecture of this section is of the early English or First Pointed period. The long nave of the church is built of small and irregular stones like the choir. There are two transepts projecting north and south, the former being used as the chapter house and scriptorium, the latter, the sacristy. The choir is the most interesting part of the ruin. A large (east) window fills the space above the altar, flanked by “graceful lancet pointed windows.” This window was blown down during a heavy storm just before the battle of Culloden. In the foreground of the choir are many old and crumbling tombstones. Under one of these flat stones, to the left of the chan-

**Priory of Beaully* by E. Chisholm-Batten.



STONE SLAB MARKING GRAVES OF HUGH, LORD FRASER
OF LOVAT, AND HIS SON

Killed at Blar-nan-leine

Priory of Beaully

cel, lie the bodies of the Frasers, father and son, who won distinction in the famous Battle of the Shirts. The faint outline of a man in armor may still be traced upon the stone.*

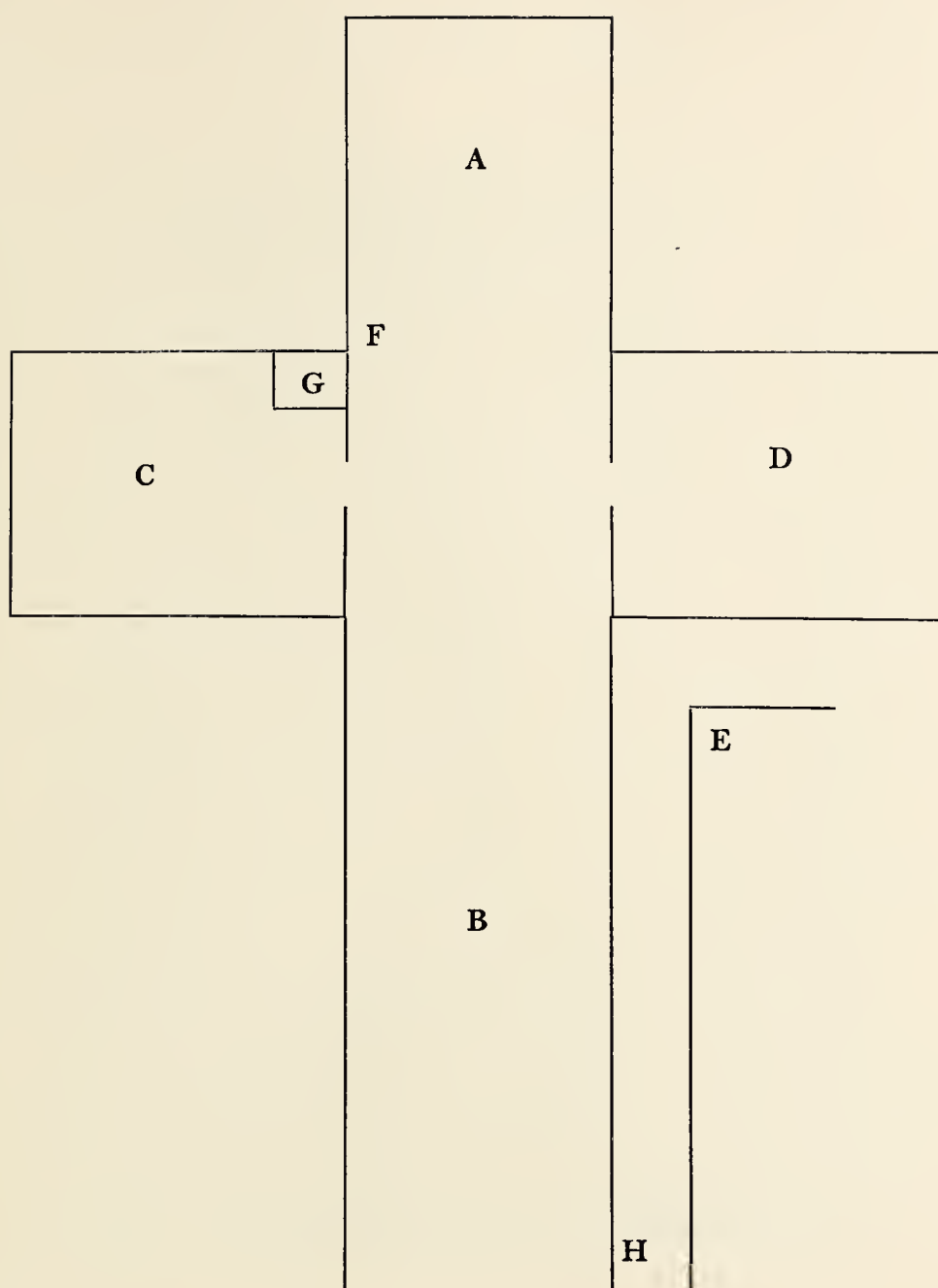
By 1815 the ruins seem to have become in so disgraceful a state that in May of that year subscriptions were sought for repairing the breaches in the walls and building up the east end of the church so as to prevent any access but by the west door. The parties to be consulted were the families of Lovat and Gairloch, The Chisholm, Maclean of Craigscurri, and the Frasers of Newton, Aigais and Eskadale.

*See illustration.



ANCIENT GRAVES, PRIORY OF BEAULY

*Aisle containing many ancient Graves
of the Chisholms. Back of rail are the Graves
of the Frasers*



A—Choir.

B—Nave.

C—Chapter House, North Work.

D—Sacristy.

E—Cloister.

F—Tomb Niches.

G—Tomb of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie.

H—Fireplace.



CONFLUENCE OF BEAULY, FARRAR AND GLASS RIVERS,
NEAR EROCHLESS CASTLE

*View taken from the Bridge and shows the ending of the Farrar River and the
top of the Beaully River. The Glass River flows to the right of the scene*

IX

From the Parish of Kilmorack to Canada and the United States



LIKE many other parishes in the Highlands of Scotland, "Kilmorack derives its name from having afforded burial ground either to some reputed saint, or some person of distinction. Cill Mborac signifies the Cell or Chapel of Young Mary; but from what family this lady sprang cannot with certainty be ascertained, though it seems most likely she was a descendant of one of the Lairds of Chisholm, who, long before the Reformation, were the principal residing heritors in the parish, many of whom are buried there." Kilmorack is a parish of great extent stretching from Tarradale till within a short distance of the Cro of Kintail, a distance of upwards of sixty miles in length, its breadth being between twenty and thirty miles. Hills of very considerable height, clothed to their very summits with a variety of trees—Scotch fir, birch, mountain ash and poplar—add to the attractiveness of the landscape.

At the eastern extremity winds the Beauly Firth, while a few miles west of this latter river are the lovely falls of Kilmorack and Teanassic, the picturesque scenes in the Dreum, and the island of Aigath. The Farrar, Canich and Glass rivers intersect the parish in different directions. Although there are many lakes in this parish stocked with pike and trout, there is one which displays probably the only phenomenon of the kind in Great Britain. This is Lochan Uain or Green Lake situated on the Chisholm property about forty miles west of Beauly. It is surrounded by mountains as high as any in Scotland, the highest being called Maum Shoudhil. The freakish nature of the lake consists in the fact that perpetually, both summer and winter, it is covered with ice, although in the middle of June when the sun is vertical, a very little of the ice in the center of the lake is dissolved.

"In no respect has the country undergone a greater change than its climate. Formerly the heat was so great even in March that the farmers were obliged to rise and go to work by three or four o'clock in the morning to avoid the great heat at midday. Now storms of snow and hail are not unusual even in June." Oats, barley, and rye were formerly the chief products

The Clan Chisholm

of this parish but now it reaps more profit from the cultivation of potatoes. The only manufacturing carried on in the parish was that of lumber, many thousand fir trees being annually cut in Lovat's and The Chisholm's woods. The fir used by Cromwell in the construction of the citadel at Inverness was entirely the product of the woods of Strathglass and Glenstrathfarrar. In different parts of Kilmorack are to be seen many Druidical cairns or temples, and the ruins of small forts built on the summit of the hills.

"It is impossible with any degree of exactness to ascertain the records of the deaths, marriages or births in this parish. Of the two former there were no registers kept."¹

Invercannich, Kerrow, Clachan, Strathglass, Comar, Knockfin and Fasnakyle are all included in the parish of Kilmorack.²

The first of the Chisholms of Knockfin was—

Colin Chisholm, I of Knockfin. He was the third son of Alexander Chisholme, XVII of Strathglass^{3*} and his wife, a daughter of Alexander, Mackenzie, V of Gairloch.† His brother Angus, the eighteenth chief, died without issue. Long before the land had been converted into sheep pastures and later into game forests there were many long-horned black cattle raised in the parish of Kilmorack and tradition states that Colin Chisholm was among the first to introduce cattle-droving into the Highlands. This he conducted upon such an extensive and successful scale that the profits from the sale of his cattle enabled him to advance to his brother Alexander, at that time the nineteenth Chisholm chief, the sum of twelve thousand merks for a wadset of Knockfin. "The Contract of proper wadset betwixt Alexander Chisholm of Comar and Colin Chisholm," dated August 19, 1678, is among the papers in the Chisholm charter chest at Inverness, a copy being given by Mackenzie in his *History of the Chisholms*, page 61.

The thought of these valuable Chisholm herds grazing peacefully in the valley of the Glass excited the cupidity of the men of Lochabar, who possessed an unenviable reputation for "cattle-lifting." So with the aid of the Camerons, the Macmillans swept down from Lochabar with the ambitious hope not only of lifting the cattle but of taking Strathglass as well. They were met at Aridhuiean (or Glasbuidhe) by the men from Strathglass under the leadership of Colin Chisholm, who, with masterly foresight, had ar-

* See Clan Chart A.

† See Clan Chart B^b.



COLIN CHISHOLM OF KNOCKFIN

From the Parish of Kilmorack

ranged his forces in a favorable position on the hillside above Fasnakyle House. The fusilade of bullets from the Chisholms upon both the front and flank of the invaders was so heavy that they quickly fell back, only to rally again and again. After several unsuccessful charges, they finally retreated bearing their wounded on improvised ambulances, called in Gaelic, “cradh-leabaidh,” or in English, “anguish or agony bed.”

It is said that the raiders on their way, meeting Colin Chisholm’s young son accompanied by his nurse, took the boy with them for protection until they were free of the Strathglass woods when he was safely restored to his nurse.⁴

According to Mackenzie in his *History of the Chisholms*, Colin married on June 24, 1662, Mary, second daughter of Patrick Grant, IV of Glenmoriston.* Another authority claims he married a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel but this is probably an error.

Colin Chisholm died December 7, 1691.⁵ His son—⁶

John Chisholm, II of Knockfin was generally known as “Ian Ruadh.” He was one who, together with The Chisholm and many other chiefs and gentlemen, signed the address to King George I expressing their loyalty and attachment to his person and family on his accession to the British crown in 1714.† John, nevertheless, joined actively in the “Rising of 1715” under the Earl of Mar. The young chief of the Chisholms was only eighteen years of age when he took nominal command of his two hundred men from Strathglass at the battle of Sheriffmuir. On account of his more mature years and experience the real leader of the Chisholm forces in this battle was John of Knockfin, and the creditable conduct of his men in action was due largely to his skill and courage as an officer.‡

In explanation of the conduct of those chiefs who so recently had signed the address to the king and then rebelled against him—an act appearing diametrically opposite to their previous profession of loyalty—it is alleged that the document was never seen by his Majesty, being withheld by parties inimical to the Highlanders who promptly resented the slight they imagined their declaration of fealty had received.

Upon the suppression of the “Rising of 1715,” about half of The Chis-

* See Clan Chart F^a.

John S. Keltie.

† See *History of the Highland Clans* by

‡ *Celtic Magazine*, vol. VI.

The Clan Chisholm

holm's land was forfeited to the Crown in consequence of the part the twenty-first chief and his clan had taken at Sheriffmuir. Among his estates specified were Erchless, Breackachy, Glencannich, Invercannich and Comar, but the three Knockfins, Affric, and Quillove escaped forfeiture on account of the grant of wadset to Colin Chisholm in 1678, whereby Alexander Chisholm of Comar "wadsets and impignbrates to Colin Chisholm and his heirs and his assigns whatsoever, the half davoch, town and lands of Knockfin, commonly called Easter, Middle, and Wester Knockfin, with certain other grazings, redeemable for 12,000 merks Scots."

When Alexander Chisholm of Muckerach obtained possession of the Strathglass estates, he redeemed the wadset on Knockfin and gave John a new wadset of the same lands and another of the township and lands of Buntait.⁷

When the Bailie Court was held at Erchless, William Ross, appointed Bailie by the commissioners of forfeited estates, demanded that John of Knockfin make payment to him of the rents of the lands of Knockfin, etc., John successfully contended that he was not obliged to make such payment as he possessed the land "by virtue of a contract of wadset passed betwixt the deceased Alexander Chisholm of Comar, grandfather of the person attainted, and Colin Chisholm, his father." Thus the lands of Knockfin were saved. "From this it would appear that the Government did not know that John of Knockfin commanded the Chisholms at Sheriffmuir."⁸

The forfeited Chisholm estates were sold at public auction to John Baillie, who resigned them to Sir George Mackenzie of Allengrange. Mackenzie in turn disposed of them to Alexander Chisholm of Muckerach, brother of Roderick, the chief. Finally the whole of these lands and estates, as was originally intended, was granted to Alexander Chisholm, Younger of Comar, eldest son and heir of Roderick, who in response to his appeal received a pardon under the Privy Seal, January 4, 1727.

John Chisholm, II of Knockfin, married a daughter of Grant of Corriemony.⁹ From one of their daughters descended the late Bishop Macdonell with whom Alexander Chisholm went to Canada in 1826. John's daughter—

Isabella Chisholm married John Chisholm in Wester Knockfin,^{10*} the grandson of Alexander Chisholm the nineteenth chief.

* See Clan Chart A^a.



ALEXANDER CHISHOLM
Grandson of Colin Chisholm of Knockfin

From the Parish of Kilmorack

Colin Chisholm, I of Knockfin, had a second son—¹¹

Archibald Chisholm of Fasnakyle House who served as a lieutenant of garrison artillery. He married twice. By his first wife, a daughter of Kenneth Macrae, he had a son Alexander who, according to the best authorities, emigrated to America with his wife in 1717. For his second wife, Archibald married a daughter of Fraser of Aigais with issue another son named Alexander who married Miss Grant from Urquhart.¹² Mackenzie, in his *History of the Chisholms*, page 165, states that a daughter of Alexander Chisholm, second son of Archibald of Fasnakyle, married Theodore Chisholm of Comar.* As the daughter of the first Alexander, son of Archibald, could scarcely have been over seven years of age when the family went to America, Mackenzie may have referred to the second Alexander who was also Archibald's second son by his second marriage.

Descendants of Theodore Chisholm, Parish of Kilmorack

Theodore Chisholm was the second son of Alexander Chisholm,¹³ the nineteenth chief† and his wife, the eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, I of Applecross.‡ His nephew, Roderick, the twenty-first chief, was the nominal leader of the Chisholms at the battle of Sheriffmuir, for which act his estates were forfeited; while his grandnephew Roderick, although under age, led the clan at the disastrous battle of Culloden where the youth was mortally wounded. Theodore's other nephew, Alexander Chisholm, I of Muckerach, son of John, the twentieth chief, was the great-grandfather of James Sutherland Chisholm, who died at Erchless Castle, May 28, 1885. Theodore Chisholm lived and died at Balmore, Invercannich. He married Margaret, daughter of William Fraser of Culbokie.¹⁴ On April 8, 1703 his name is recorded in the Register House at Edinburgh as acting in the capacity of godfather, together with William Fraser of Culbokie, to Janet, daughter of John Chisholm, II of Knockfin. Previous to this date, on October 20, 1702, John of Knockfin and John of Comar, the twentieth Chisholm chief, are registered as godfathers to Theodore's son—¹⁵

* See Clan Chart A^a.

‡ See Clan Chart B^a.

† See Clan Chart A.

Chisholm Chiefs

John Chisholm who was born at Invercannich and baptized on the above date.¹⁶ After his marriage to Isabella, daughter of John Chisholm, II of Knockfin,¹⁷ he lived at Wester Knockfin where he died leaving as his successor an only son—¹⁸

Theodore Chisholm who became a tacksman at Comar where he lived and died. As explained in a preceding chapter on the history of the Highlands, a tacksman was a younger son or near relative of the chief. He lived in a comfortable stone house and rented portions of his land to tenants whose welfare was a matter of special concern to him. Theodore is said to have married Mary, daughter of Alexander, second son of Archibald of Fasnakyle.¹⁹ Another authority states she was a Mary Chisholm of Kerrow. His son John, also a tacksman at Comar, married Margaret, only child of Kenneth, son of Archibald Chisholm of Fasnakyle.²⁰ According to Mackenzie, John and Margaret's son, Theodore of Struy, was the male heir and chief after the death of Roderick, the twenty-eighth chief, who died in 1887.

Theodore Chisholm of Comar's daughter—²¹

Eliza Chisholm married Alexander Macdonell, a farmer of Invercannich.²² He was a descendant of the Glengarry Macdonells. Their son Angus married Anne, daughter of Colin Chisholm of Lietry* and their daughter Mary married Colin Chisholm, VI of Lietry,²³ and became the mother of the Hon. Colin Chisholm, late of Namur Cottage, Inverness, who was a cousin of Mr. Alexander Chisholm of Niagara, Canada. Mr. Colin Chisholm's fascinating articles under the head of "Traditions of Strathglass" which appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, have been widely read as they contain a valuable store of authentic anecdotes and historical data relative to the Highlands and its people. His knowledge of the Chisholm genealogy furnished Alexander Mackenzie, the compiler of *The History of the Chisholms*, with many of his most interesting facts regarding this family. Miss Helena Chisholm, at present residing in London, is the only member of Mr. Chisholm's family now living.

Another daughter of Alexander and Eliza (Chisholm) Macdonell was—²⁴

Isabel Chisholm who about 1800 married Alexander Chisholm of Clachan, Strathglass,²⁵ son of Archibald Chisholm. Clachan, which in Gaelic means "stone," was a small community village in Strathglass.

* See Clan Chart A^c.

From the Parish of Kilmorack

Mr. and Mrs. Chisholm probably resided in Kerrow, or, to be more detailed, Strathglass Carries, a part of Kerrow, for it was there that the second (and possibly the first, Archibald) of their six children was born. In the church at Cannich are recorded the baptismal dates of these children beginning with that of Duncan. The following is a copy of these records—

Oct. 22, 1804—Duncan Chisholm, son to Colin and Isabel McDonald, tenants in Kerroff (Kerrow). Godparents—Theodore Chisholm from Comar and Anne Chisholm from Kerroff.

August 12, 1806—Mary Chisholm, daughter to Colin Chisholm and Isabel McDonell, tenants in Kerroff. Godparents—Alex. McDonell and Margaret Chisholm from Balanahaven.

June 23, 1808—Austin (Hugh) Chisholm, son to Colin Chisholm and Isabel McDonell, tenants in Kerroff—Godparents, Colin Chisholm, Senr. and Anne Chisholm, widow in Ditto.

April 22, 1810—Alex^{cr} Chisholm, son to Colin and Isabel McDonell, tenants in Kerroff. Godparents, Colin Chisholm, sen^r in Ditto and Mrs. Cameron Tomich of Kerroff.

March 11, 1812—Isabel Chisholm, daughter to Colin Chisholm and Isabel MacDonald in Clachan. Godfather, Colin Chisholm in Much^rach (Muckerach).

Mrs. Colin Chisholm died at Kerrow in 1816,²⁶ leaving the care of her young children, the eldest of whom was only fourteen years of age, to their father.

From a conversation with Miss Bisset of Nairn, daughter of Alexander Bisset and his wife Mary, daughter of Colin and Isabel Chisholm, the following facts respecting the Chisholm family of Kerrow were gleaned.

Isabel, when she was old enough, kept house for her father, Colin Chisholm (Miss Bisset's grandfather) and on her death—she never married—Mr. Chisholm spent his remaining days with the Bissets in whose home at Fanellan (or Fanellay) he died in 1862.²⁷ His son Archibald, who was unmarried, also lived and died in the Bisset's home.

Hugh Chisholm, who married Mary Anton, was general factotum for Lord Lovat's mother. He died when still a young man and his family went to Canada. His eldest daughter, Isabel, became a Religious of the Sacred Heart and is buried at Sault-an-Recollet, Montreal. His other two children, Hugh and Margaret, with their mother went to Galveston, Texas.²⁸

Duncan Chisholm emigrated to Canada in 1828; of his brother, Alexander, a more detailed account follows.

The Clan Chisholm

Records of deaths in the early days are comparatively few. The tombstones reveal little, as many of them are without inscriptions, for in those small communities they were not considered necessary since everyone knew the location of the graves of his relatives and friends. Again many of the older stones have fallen face down upon the ground, and the names and dates, if any, have become obliterated. An outstanding exception to this is the impressive monument, marking the burial place of Colin and Isabel Macdonell Chisholm in Clachan Comar, which was erected by their grandson, the late **Hugh J. Chisholm** of New York and Portland, Maine. It is in the form of a massive granite cross and bears the inscription:

Sacred
to
The Memory of
COLIN CHISHOLM
Who died at Fanellay in 1862
And of his Spouse
Who died at Kerrow in 1816
R. I. P.

Upon the base of the monument are the words:

Erected by their grandson
Hugh J. Chisholm
Portland, Maine, U. S. A.

The fourth son of Colin and Isabel Chisholm was—²⁹

Alexander Chisholm, who was born April 10, 1810, and, as stated in the records of the parish church at Cannich, was baptized April 22, 1810, his parents at the time being tenants in Kerrow (or Kerroff). His godparents were Colin Chisholm, Senior, and Mrs. Cameron Tomich, both of Kerrow.

Alexander's early youth was passed in Strathglass Carries, a picturesque spot where the river Farrar joins the Glass, not far from Erchless Castle. Strathglass Carries and Invercannich, including Kerrow, are practically the same, only the Carries were closer to the river and Lake Cary (or Lake Cury as it is now called). Invercannich may still be found on the map but Strathglass Carries no longer exists as a place name.

As a descendant of Alexander Chisholm, the nineteenth Chisholm chief,



MONUMENT OF COLIN CHISHOLM AND "SPOUSE"
AT CLACHAN COMAR



ALEXANDER CHISHOLM AND YOUNG SON HUGH
Husband of Margaret Phelan Chisholm

From the Parish of Kilmorack

and of the chiefs of the Glengarry Macdonells, it was essential that Alexander receive an education in keeping with his family's station and antecedents. Consequently he was sent to St. Benedict's School in Fort Augustus and, being the youngest son of a large family and studiously inclined, the priesthood appeared to offer a suitable field for the exercise of his talented mind and religious nature. With this in view, young Alexander took a theological course at St. Mary's Roman Catholic College near Aberdeen.

About this time, on account of a radical change in policy by the landowners towards their tenants,* the exodus of Highland families to Canada and the United States had about reached its peak. Already Bishop Alexander Macdonell, a distant cousin of Alexander Chisholm through the Chisholms of Knockfin, had been twice to Canada, once in 1804, when, having taken so active an interest in procuring land in Upper Canada for his disbanded Glengarry Fencibles, he was appointed to the mission of St. Raphaels, Ontario; and again in 1817, returning to Scotland in 1825 after having been chosen first Bishop of Upper Canada. It is said that the Bishop had experienced great difficulty in obtaining properly educated men for the priesthood which fact retarded the religious development of the Catholic population.³⁰ Now it may have been with the idea of remedying this fault that the bishop encouraged Alexander Chisholm to accompany him to Canada, where he could complete his clerical studies at St. Raphael's Seminary (Iona College), which later produced many efficient missionaries. Be that as it may, the fact remains that in 1826, Alexander Chisholm, then only in his seventeenth year, went to Canada in the company of Bishop Macdonell,³¹ who remained several years at St. Raphael's before going to Kingston. Also in 1826 Rev. W. P. Macdonell arrived in Canada to take charge of the Bishop's intended seminary for ecclesiastics at St. Raphael's.³² It is probable that young Chisholm continued his studies, perhaps at St. Raphael's, as in 1832 he was one of the signatories to the *Address to The Chisholm of Chisholm*, his name appearing under that of his brother, Duncan's, as "Alexander Chisholm, Divinity Student." That Alexander Chisholm of Niagara, ancestor of Hugh J. Chisholm of New York and Portland, Maine, and Alexander Chisholm, Divinity Student, were the same person, is proved by the fact that the handwriting of the former is identical with the signa-

*See *History of the Highland Clans* by John S. Keltie.

The Clan Chisholm

ture of the latter in the above mentioned address, a photograph of which is in the possession of one of the members of the family.

Alexander next appears in the public records on January 20, 1839, the date of his marriage at Niagara Falls, Ontario, to Mary Margaret Phelan of Chippewa, daughter of James Phelan and his wife Mary Tobin.³³ The ceremony was performed in the church at the "Falls" by Rev. Father Edward Gordon. The three witnesses were Thomas Phelan and James Tobin, brother and uncle respectively of the bride, and John McLaughlin.

Mr. and Mrs. Chisholm resided for several years at Niagara Falls, Ontario; later they moved to Chippewa and finally settled in the historic old town of Niagara, now Niagara-on-the-Lake, attractively located between the river and Lake Ontario.

The two pivotal points in his life—just why he came to America, and what influenced him to forsake his chosen profession—Alexander Chisholm never disclosed. Whether he did as he did because of the dictates of his reason, his emotions, or his impulse, who can say? However, from the path of the student he never deviated. The classics were an obsession with him. The translation of the dead languages into modern for the benefit of the students, both in Upper and Lower Canada—as the Dominion was divided in those days—was his pleasure and his profession. He felt a deeper interest in the wanderings of Ulysses, the disastrous results of the beauty of Helen of Troy, the conspiracies of Catiline, or the profound lessons of the Greek philosophers, than in the fluctuations of the stock market or the price of domestic commodities. Seldom seen on the street without an open book in his hand, this gentle, lovable scholar, impractical in a worldly sense, won the respect and admiration of his neighbors, and the adoration of his family. One of his daughters in speaking of him, said that "he was rather self-contained. It came of his love of God, and of man for His sake, together with a guileless simplicity which made young and old feel equally at home in his company."

When the Scottish peer, Lord Elgin, who was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1846, made his first official visit to Niagara, then the capital of Ontario, Mr. Chisholm was a member of the committee chosen to entertain him. In appreciation of his hospitality as well as in recognition of his ability, Lord Elgin offered him a government appointment which



HUGH J. CHISHOLM

From the Parish of Kilmorack

would have been advantageous to himself and his family. It has always remained a mystery to his relatives just why Mr. Chisholm declined the office, especially at a time when the requirements of a large family were proving a heavy tax on his financial resources.

His somewhat tragic death occurred May 24, 1859³⁴ when, in stepping off the steamer from Toronto, he slipped and, falling into Toronto Bay, was drowned before help could reach him. His remains lie at Niagara-on-the-Lake in the family tomb erected (1900) in the quiet, tree-shaded churchyard of St. Vincent de Paul, by his son the late Hugh J. Chisholm of New York.

Mr. Alexander Chisholm was survived by his wife Mary and nine children, his second daughter Margaret having predeceased him.*

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Chisholm's second son was—

Hugh Joseph Chisholm. In Chippewa, Ontario, on May 2, 1847³⁵ there was born to Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Chisholm, a boy destined to become one of the pioneer pulp and paper manufacturers of the country. He was the fifth of what was to be later a family of ten children. Seven days after his birth he was taken to church for baptism, and received the name of Hugh, the rite being performed by the Rev. Father McCarroll—James Shannon and Mrs. Hugh Birch acting as sponsors.

In a little less than a year the Chisholms moved to Niagara-on-the-Lake where the young Hugh grew to sturdy boyhood and where, with his brothers and sisters, he attended the local public schools. One kindly old gentleman, a resident of Niagara, who had been a classmate of Hugh's, remarked to the writer, "The Chisholm children were an unusually active group, but the lad Hugh was always the leader, not only with his brothers, but among his playfellows. He possessed a fertile imagination. His father being a scholar, he knew more of the classics than we did, and often under his direction as 'Caesar,' we of the 'Tenth Legion' built pontoon bridges across some tiny inlet with rude boats whittled from discarded shingles; or else, mounted on his shaggy little pony, he, in the person of 'Alexander the Great' led us barefooted urchins forth to conquer new worlds." This "play-acting" was startlingly prophetic, for, at the early age of thirteen years, the youthful Hugh,

*See Clan Chart A^c. For data relative to see sketch of the Phelan Family.
Mrs. Mary (Phelan) Chisholm's family,

The Clan Chisholm

after the tragic death of his father, did start out upon the conquest of new worlds and the story of his later life is a glowing testimony to his success.

As has been previously related, the death of Mr. Alexander Chisholm left his family with very limited means for support. Something had to be done and done at once, and the plucky little mother with the cooperation of Hugh and his brothers soon solved the problem.

Hugh began his real business career as a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Railway. "His run was between Detroit, Michigan, and Toronto. At the Detroit end of the route he soon formed the acquaintance of a bright newsboy whose run was between that city and Port Huron. They became fast friends and in their later years whenever these two former train-boys—Hugh J. Chisholm and Thomas A. Edison—chanced to meet, they have recalled with pleasure the days when they used to swap books and tales of adventure in their moments of leisure."³⁶

Remarkably alert, ambitious, and industrious, the lad from Niagara in a short time established a railway news service of large proportions. He formed a partnership with his brothers under the name of Chisholm Brothers, and within six years, while still in his teens, he had acquired control of the news service on five thousand miles of railroad and steamboat lines and employed a force of two hundred and fifty boys all uniformed in the trainman's cap and gilt buttons, a Chisholm innovation.

Realizing early in his career that an education was of extreme importance in the business world, Hugh invested the first fifty dollars of his savings in a course at the Commercial College in Toronto, devoting his evenings to study and his days to work. In 1872, through the influence of Payson Tucker, then general manager of the Maine Central Railroad, Hugh Chisholm settled in Portland, Maine, and became a citizen of the United States. Here he originated and developed the transportation publishing business, producing railway and tourists' guides and albums descriptive of travel. It was through his connection with the publishing business that his interest was awakened in the wood-pulp industry and the manufacture of paper. Instead of retiring after realizing a comfortable fortune from the news service and publishing company, "he turned to the development of the pulp and paper business." He was one of the patentees of the process for making fiber ware, and organized the Somerset Fiber Company, at Fairfield, Maine.



WHARF AND HARBOR, NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE, CANADA

From the Parish of Kilmorack

He believed in the extensive and natural resources of his adopted state, and foresaw the great possibilities for the benefit of the citizens of the state in the development of those resources. As was characteristic of the man, he made an exhaustive study of the wood-pulp industry and the manufacture of paper until he was thoroughly conversant with all the details, with the result that he finally became one of the leading pulp and paper manufacturers.

The organization of the Umbago Pulp Company at Livermore Falls, Maine, laid the foundation of his fortune and was a demonstration of his business ability and great genius. Appreciating the enormous power lying dormant in the Androscoggin river, whose waterfall is ten feet higher than that of Niagara, he began acquiring property at Rumford Falls as early as 1883. In 1886 there was nothing at Rumford Falls but the falls and a berry pasture; today it is a prosperous community of ten thousand inhabitants. This transformation was due to the foresight and energy of Mr. Chisholm, who, in 1890, organized the Rumford Falls Power Company which was the nucleus around which the town grew. Not only did he conceive and work out the idea of this company, but he even planned the engineering features, for he possessed in no small degree a natural gift for mechanical and constructive engineering, and his mental conceptions of his projects were often ahead of the expert engineers whom he employed. "It was especially in modern hydraulics, one of the most difficult and perplexing sciences of the day, that he excelled."³⁷

But Mr. Chisholm did more than harness a wonderful waterpower at Rumford and build in the wilderness a flourishing manufacturing center. He made this center a community of model homes which were the result of extensive investigation on his part both here and abroad. The late William L. Putnam, Judge of the United States District Court, in commenting upon this achievement, remarked, "The hygiene and lay of the various lots for building purposes and streets were all marvellously planned, especially Strathglass Park, which Dr. William DeWitt Hyde, former president of Bowdoin College, pronounced the finest he had ever seen. The architectural arrangements of the houses are so designed as to avoid the monotony of even the best villages connected with large manufactories."

With a watchful care over the social welfare of the people, Mr. Chisholm also formulated the plan and provided for the erection of a Mechanics In-

The Clan Chisholm

stitute which is unequalled in the state. It has the characteristics of a social club and an educational institution along scientific and industrial lines. Realizing the necessity for outdoor exercise and amusement for the workers in the mills, he established each winter at his own expense a free public skating rink on the Androscoggin river, lighted by electricity, and frequently provided with music by the local band.

He saw the necessity of access to Rumford Falls by a railroad that would supply the needs of that community and transport its productions. With this object in view, he gained, in 1890, control of the moribund Rumford Falls and Buckfield Railway, reorganized it under the head of the Portland and Rumford Falls Railway, became its president and general manager, extended its lines from Rumford Falls to Mechanic Falls and Auburn, Maine, connecting with the Maine Central Railroad at Rumford Falls Junction, and opened it for traffic in 1892.* His next great undertaking culminated in the formation in 1898 of the International Paper Company consisting of some twenty-five pulp and paper manufacturing plants of which he was made president. He retired from the presidency in October, 1907, to become chairman of its board of directors. From this position he resigned in 1910, owing to his desire to withdraw as much as possible from business cares.

One of his biographers writes of him: "Like all men of genius, Mr. Chisholm was a dreamer, but unlike most of them, he was practical as well." Among the other corporations which his energy brought into active existence was the Oxford Paper Company of Rumford of which plant he was president and director until the time of his death. This company for a series of years had a contract with the United States government to provide its entire issue of postcards. In addition to his connection with the enterprises already mentioned, he was president and director of the Rumford Falls and Rangeley Lake Railroad Company; the Rumford Falls Realty Company; Rumford Lumber Company; was a director of several Maine banks; was a member of the Board of Managers of the New York Zoological Society; and was instrumental in establishing the Rumford Falls Sulphite Company, Light & Water Company, Trust Company and National Bank, all of Rumford.

He contributed liberally to innumerable public and private enterprises

*It is now part of the Maine Central system of which road he was a director.

From the Parish of Kilmorack

and charities. The public library at Niagara-on-the-Lake, his old home, received a generous donation from him while in process of construction.

The late Dr. William DeWitt Hyde in being questioned at one time regarding his friend, Mr. Chisholm, remarked: "His leading characteristics seem to be a prophetic grasp of future possibilities, and an indomitable patience, perseverance, and energy in developing the means of realizing these possibilities. With all this vision and energy, he combined a deep sense of responsibility for the beneficent use of his powers and resources, and a kindly, generous interest in the welfare of those who, through their labor, became associated with him in his various enterprises."

Col. Fred N. Dow, son of the famous Gen. Neal Dow, Father of Prohibition, paid Mr. Chisholm the following tribute: "In his early days, he was industrious, energetic, and strictly attentive to business, and in these particulars, giving promise of progress; but few of us who knew him then could have anticipated for him the successful and useful life he led. . . . His career was remarkable even in this country of great successes. Few men of his age and, at that time, of limited means, would have the foresight, the ability, and the courage to penetrate a wilderness and arrest a mighty river, as he did the Androscoggin in its unshackled, useless flow to the sea, and compel it to render service and create wealth for man. . . . Aside from his greatness as a business man, that trait of his character which perhaps impressed one as much as any was his high appreciation of assistance rendered, however slight, and his intense loyalty to his friends."³⁸ In an editorial in the *Boston Herald* written at the time of Mr. Chisholm's death, he is spoken of as a man who "was loved by all his thousands of employees. Employers who have trouble with the men they hire may read with profit his life's story. Mr. Chisholm was the kind of man who gives himself as well as his money to all the good causes that he helps. He scoffed at the idea that any young man with health and a substantial stock of virtues could not duplicate the success he himself had won." Indeed his universal courtesy and kindliness of heart endeared him to all those with whom he was associated either in the business or the social world.

Mr. Chisholm was a member of the Metropolitan, New York Yacht, Ardsley, City, Midday and Riding Clubs of New York, and a director of the New York Zoological Society.

The Clan Chisholm

He was married in Portland, Maine, September 5, 1872,³⁹ to Henrietta, daughter of Dr. Edward Mason, and his wife Harriet Hall, daughter of Deacon Simeon Hall of Portland. He had one son, Hugh J., Jr.

Mr. Chisholm's death occurred at his residence, 813 Fifth Avenue, New York City, July 8, 1912.⁴⁰ His remains were brought to Portland for burial in the beautiful family mausoleum at Evergreen Cemetery.

Hugh J. Chisholm, Jr. was born in Portland, Maine, April 17, 1886,⁴¹ the only son of Hugh J. and Henrietta (Mason) Chisholm. He acquired his secondary school instruction at Browning's School, New York. In 1904 he entered Yale, receiving his A.B. degree from that University four years later. In 1908 he entered the Harvard Law School from which he graduated in 1911 with the degree of LL.B.

On the death of his father in 1912 Mr. Chisholm succeeded the former as president of the Oxford Paper Company and the Rumford Falls Power Company. He is also the active head of the Oxford-Miami Paper Company, located in Illinois, and has long been a director of the Maine Central Railroad Company; the Boston and Maine Railroad; the Portland National Bank and Chisholm Brothers. He was president of the Portland and Rumford Falls Railroad and affiliated companies until the sale of these companies to the Maine Central Railroad.

Being descended on his mother's side from a long and distinguished line of Colonial ancestors, he became a member of the Society of Colonial Wars and Sons of the American Revolution. The clubs to which he belongs include: The American Yacht Club; Indian Harbor Yacht Club; New York Yacht Club; Portland Yacht Club; Riding Club; Apawamis Club; Blind Brook Club; Cumberland Club; Interallied Club of France; Fishers Island Club; Manursing Island Club; Metropolitan Club; Midday Club; Mount Royal Club, Canada; New York Farmers; Round Hill Club; Union League Club; Yale Club of New York; and Maine Historical Society.

On June 26, 1910,⁴² he married Sara Clarke, daughter of William P. and Adelaide (Clarke) Hardenbergh of Bernardsville, New Jersey.

Of Mr. and Mrs. Chisholm's children—

Hugh Joseph, born July 20, 1913,⁴³ is the eldest. He is at present enrolled as a Junior at Yale University. When nineteen years of age, he published a book of delightful poems which received much favorable comment.

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Barbara, the only daughter, was born in New York, February 6, 1916.⁴⁴ She attended the Ethel Walker School at Simsbury, Connecticut, and graduated in 1934, from "L'Ermitage," a young ladies' finishing school in Paris.

William Hardenbergh, the youngest, was born in New York, April 24, 1917.⁴⁵ He is a student at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire.

The Phelan Family



THE family or clan of Phelan, or Faelon, of Ireland, dates back many centuries. According to Baring-Gould, in *Family Names*, during the tenth century, "King Brian Boru is said to have issued an edict that the descendants of the heads of the tribes and families then in power should take the name from them, either from the fathers or grandfathers, and that these names should become hereditary and fixed forever. In compliance with this mandate, the O'Brians of Thomond took their name from the monarch Brian Boru himself, who was slain in the battle of Clontarf in 1014. Other family names were formed either from the names of the chieftains who fought in this battle, or from those of their sons or their fathers. . . . Thus the O'Faelons of the Desiis* derived their name from their ancestor Faelon, whose son, Mothla, commanded the Desii of Munster in this memorable battle of Clontarf."†

The O'Faelons, or Phelans, were said to have been a powerful tribe in Ireland, and many of their descendants became prominent dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. The well known bishop, Patrick Phelan, who was born in Ireland in 1795, was elected to the coadjutorship of Montreal and in 1842 consecrated Bishop of Carrha. But the first of the family line of Phelans in this country in which the interest of this genealogy centers was—

James Phelan, who left Ireland about 1825 or earlier to seek his fortune in Canada. His wife, Mary Tobin, died previous to this date or soon after her husband's arrival in America, as no mention is made of her accompanying him, and besides in 1825-26 James Phelan's two little children, Thomas and Mary Margaret, went to Quebec to join their father, under the guardianship of their Tobin grandmother and two uncles, one of whom was named James Tobin. On their arrival at Quebec, no trace of the father, James Phelan, was to be found and it is supposed that he was drowned while cross-

*Phelan is the anglicised spelling, as in the twelfth century the English compelled the Irish to change their names to make them look different from the old way.
 † See Appendix.

The Phelan Family

ing Lake Champlain from Fort Covington, New York State, where he had been working during the winter. Undismayed by this misfortune the Tobins, with the two Phelan orphans, went to Fort Covington where, it is said, James and his brother worked at their trade of tanners. In 1830 they returned to Canada and settled in Chippewa, Ontario, where they erected a tannery of their own.

Thomas and Mary Phelan remained under the loving care and generous protection of their grandmother Tobin and their uncle James until 1831 when Thomas went to Niagara Falls, where he entered the employ of A. W. Allen, but it was not until 1839 that his sister Mary (of whom later) left the house of her relatives to become the wife of Alexander Chisholm.

Thomas Phelan, son of James and Mary (Tobin) Phelan, was born November 12, 1819. He always claimed that he and his sister Mary were born in Stradbally, Queen's County, Ireland, but his grandson, Mr. Frederick R. Phelan of Montreal, who has had a careful search made of all the records in Queen's County, is inclined to doubt the accuracy of this statement. He is of the opinion, to quote from a letter written by him September 14, 1925, "that the parents of Thomas and Mary Margaret Phelan must have moved to Stradbally sometime between 1823 and 1825, otherwise the church registers at that place, which go back beyond those dates, would contain some entry giving either the parents' marriage, or the children's births. . . . Furthermore, only one family of Tobins . . . lived in that neighborhood and they had no connection with the Phelans. Tobin is a rare name in Queen's County but very prevalent in the northwestern portion of Kilkenny County, and thus not very far from Stradbally. My own hypothesis is that our people came from around Abbeyleix where Senator James Phelan's father came from. This place is near the Kilkenny boundary and James Phelan, if he lived there, would more easily have met Tobin families than if he resided in or near Stradbally."

To return to Thomas Phelan: after remaining nine years at Niagara Falls in the employ of A. W. Allen he moved to Lewiston, N. Y., where he ran a branch store and finally became a successful business man. On June 9, 1845, he married Jane, daughter of Frederick Edward Dillon and his wife, Mary Platt. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Father Edward Gordon, at Niagara, Ontario.

The Clan Chisholm

Mr. Thomas Phelan* died at Lewiston, October 23, 1895, leaving the following issue:

1. Maria Louisa, born Oct. 14, 1846; died Feb. 17, 1847.
2. *Frederick Edward*, born Dec. 6, 1847; died July 22, 1925.
3. Catherine Mary, born April 6, 1850.
4. *Thomas Patrick*, born Dec. 1, 1851.
5. Cornelia Jane, born Nov. 5, 1853.
6. Isabella Frances, born Sept. 7, 1855; died Nov. 10, 1861.
7. Eugene Dillon, born Oct. 10, 1857.
8. Charles Alexander, born Sept. 26, 1859; married at St. John, N. B., September, 1896, Hannah Chapelle Enslow. Died at Montreal, Feb. 26, 1921.
9. Ida Veronica, born July 26, 1863; married, June 9, 1896 James Douglas Whelan, son of James Whelan and Catherine Smith.
10. Elizabeth Platt, born Nov. 24, 1865; married, June 29, 1897 Henry Luke Hickey, son of Luke Hickey and Anna Barry. The children of this marriage include:
 1. Ada Elizabeth, born Oct. 21, 1899.
 2. Henry Dillon, born Nov. 11, 1900.
 3. Eugene Aloysius, born June 28, 1902.
 4. Mary Frances, born May 15, 1908.
 5. Jane Cornelia, born May 19, 1909.

Frederick Edward Phelan,† son of Thomas and Jane (Dillon) Phelan, was married at Montreal, September 16, 1884 to Lilly Alphonsine (Josephine), daughter of Joseph Prevost and his wife, Mary Mathieson. He died at Montreal, July 22, 1925. Issue—

1. *Frederick Ross*, born at Lake Chateauguay, August 8, 1885.
2. Charles Prevost, born July 22, 1886; married, June 6, 1913, Dora Helen, daughter Henry B.W. Harvey. Issue—Coleen Benedicta, born Jan. 25, 1925.

*The vital records concerning Thomas Phelan and his children are based on the church records at Lewiston, N. Y.; those of the children of Elizabeth Phelan Hickey, on the records at Buffalo, N. Y.

†Vital records concerning Frederick E. Phelan's children, with the exception of those of his son Frederick, will be found in the church and city records of Montreal.

The Phelan Family

3. Florence Mathieson, born June 20, 1888; married, Feb. 7, 1917, Leslie H. Kerr. Issue—Leslie H., born in Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 31, 1918.
4. Ida Lillian, born Dec. 31, 1889; married Nov. 15, 1916 in London, England, Lieut. Charles Watt (killed in action July 13, 1917). Issue—Charles Frederick, born Dec. 2, 1917.
5. Thomas Dillon, born Oct. 24, 1891; died May 24, 1892.
6. Mabel Jane, born Nov. 2, 1893; married Oct. 27, 1920, Henry Ross Cleveland. Issue—Donald Ross, born Feb., 192 .
7. Dorothy Catherine, born Oct. 23, 1895; married Sept. 27, 1922, Harry H. Walper.
8. Una Marion, born Nov. 29, 1897.
9. Eileen Mary, born Jan. 4, 1900.
10. Fraser Gurd, born July 26, 1902.
11. Edward Patrick, born July 3, 1908.

Thomas Patrick Phelan, son of Thomas Phelan, and a nephew of Mary Margaret Chisholm, was born in Lewiston, N. Y., December 1, 1851. On February 3, 1880, he married at Toronto, Ontario, Mary Catherine, daughter of James Warde. Mr. Phelan has lived in Toronto many years and is one of its leading citizens, being president and manager of the Canada Railway News Company, Ltd. He is the father of four children—

1. Frederick James, born Nov. 19, 1880. Died Aug. 20, 1911.
2. Henry Warde, born July 24, 1882; married at Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 25, 1905, Estelle, daughter of Daniel F. Donegan. Issue—ten children.
3. Irene Mary, born June 16, 1885; married June 28, 1911, Frank McLaughlin, son of J. F. McLaughlin of Toronto. Issue—four children.
4. Arthur Thomas, born May 27, 1895; married Oct. 27, 1920, Nancy, daughter of Joseph Wright.

Frederick Ross Phelan, son of Frederick E. Phelan, was born at Lake Chateaugay, N. Y., August 8, 1885. On May 10, 1910, he was married at Montreal by the Rev. Dr. Hugh Pedley, to Mary Marshall, daughter of Gilbert Johnston and his wife Jane Marshall. He is the president of the Financial Service Ltd. with offices in Montreal and Toronto. He has a

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splendid war record having served overseas as an officer in the Canadian Army during the World War.*

Mary Margaret Phelan was born in Stradbally (?), Queens County, Ireland, February 10, 1822.¹ The same argument advanced by Mr. Frederick R. Phelan regarding his grandfather's birthplace might apply to that of Thomas Phelan's sister Mary, who went to Canada with her Tobin relatives and lived her girlhood at Chippewa, Ontario. On January 20, 1839, when she was not quite seventeen years of age, she married Alexander Chisholm, son of Colin and Isabel (Macdonnell) Chisholm of Clachan, Strathglass, Scotland. At the age of thirty-seven, Mrs. Chisholm was left a widow, facing alone the responsibility of caring for her family of nine young children—a task to which she gave a mother's loving thought and unselfish devotion.

One of her granddaughters in referring to Mrs. Chisholm writes: "Among the multitude of blurred memories of my visits to the old Chisholm home is the appearance of my grandmother, always clad in silk—her voluminous skirt many yards round—reaching forth her hands from the depths of a capacious armchair to bid us an affectionate welcome, her two Persian cats lying contentedly at her feet. . . . The house was an old-fashioned one with a large garden displaying somewhat unorganized patches of colorful bloom. There was always a pony and phaeton, for driving was one of Grandmother's pleasures. The old and ailing inhabitants of the town came to her with their joys and their troubles, always sure to find kindly felicitations or sympathy as the occasion required."

Mary Margaret Chisholm died July 14, 1886² and was buried beside her husband, Alexander Chisholm, in the churchyard of St. Vincent de Paul.

*See Appendix.



MARGARET PHELAN CHISHOLM

Wife of Alexander Chisholm

Family of Alexander and Mary (Phelan) Chisholm

	Born		Died		Burial
	Where	When	Where	When	
Father: Alexander Chisholm	Kerrow, Inverness-shire, Scotland	April 10, 1810	Toronto, Ont.	May 24, 1859	Niagara, Ont.
Mother: Mary Margaret Chisholm	Stradbally, Ireland	1824	Niagara, Ont.	July 26, 1886	Niagara, Ont.
(1) Isabella Chisholm	Niagara Falls, Ont.	Feb. 17, 1840	Toronto, Ont.	Aug. 30, 1891	Toronto, Ont.
(2) Margaret Chisholm	Niagara Falls, Ont.	April 23, 1841	Niagara Falls, Ont.	July 7, 1841	Niagara Falls, Ont.
(3) Colin Remigin Chisholm	Niagara Falls, Ont.	June 1, 1842	Guelph, Ont.	Sept. 26, 1913	Niagara, Ont.
(4) Mary Elizabeth Chisholm	Thorl, Ont.	July 9, 1844	Toronto, Ont.	Jan. 23, 1891	Niagara, Ont.
(5) Hugh Chisholm	Chippawa, Ont.	May 2, 1847	New York City	July 8, 1912	Portland, Maine
(6) Alexander Thomas Chisholm	Niagara, Ont.	Dec. 21, 1848	Winnipeg, Manitoba	June 24, 1881	Niagara, Ont.
(7) Ann Jane Chisholm	Niagara, Ont.	Aug. 6, 1850		Oct. 20, 1923	Niagara, Ont.
(8) Margaret Julia Chisholm	Niagara, Ont.	March 15, 1852	Portland, Maine	Mar. 28, 1924	Niagara, Ont.
(9) John Archibald Chisholm	Niagara, Ont.	Nov. 10, 1856	Portland, Maine		
(10) Teresa Veronica Chisholm	Niagara, Ont.	Feb. 6, 1859			





ELLAN DONAN CASTLE

The Clan Mackenzie



THE Mackenzies were near neighbors of the Highland Chisholms and marriages between the two clans were not infrequent. Indeed, the wives of six Chisholm chiefs were Mackenzies by birth or descendants of Kenneth Mackenzie, X of Kintail. Four of these Chisholm chiefs were the direct progenitors of Hugh J. Chisholm of New York.

"The Mackenzies of Kintail, in Ross-shire, had as their principal seat the beautiful region on the north side of Lake Duich, with the Castle of Eilean Donan (or Eileandonnan)—now a picturesque ruin—built on an isolated rock at the extremity of the loch."*

The Clan Mackenzie, later represented by the Earls of Seaforth and Cromartie, is of ancient Gaelic origin, but their descent from the great Norman family of Fitzgerald in Ireland, as stated by some of the earlier genealogists, claiming as their authority a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, is stoutly denied by more recent historians, such as Dr. W. F. Skene, Sir James Balfour Paul, John S. Keltie, F.S.A., and Alexander Mackenzie, F.S.A. These writers, basing their conclusions on the authenticity of the ancient Gaelic MS. of 1450, which is in the Advocates' Library, assert that the Mackenzies and the Rosses had a common Gaelic ancestor in "Gilleon, or Gilceoin, na h'airde," or Colin of the Aird, so called from having his seat in the Aird. Doctor Mackenzie states that "all historical records show that until the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, the Mackenzies held their lands from the Earl of Ross, and followed his banner." After the forfeiture the Mackenzies became independent of any superior except the Crown and strenuously opposed the Macdonalds in every attempt that they made to regain possession of the earldom.

In *Coll. de Rebus Albanicis*, Iona Club, 1839, quoted in the *Scots Peerage*, Colin, or Gilleon, of the Aird, is given as having been the father of Gilleon-og, or Colin the younger, who, states Mackenzie, displayed much courage in the battle of Largs, 1263. He is said to have married a daughter of Walter, High Steward of Scotland and to have died in 1278. Then fol-

*Captain White's *Beauly Priory*.

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lowed in direct descent, Adam, Christian, and Angus. Angus was the father of—¹

Kenneth, or Coinneach,* who on his father's death inherited Islandonian, or Eilandonnan Castle. He married Morba, daughter of Alexander Macdougall, Lord of Lorn.^{2†} On his death in 1304³ he was succeeded by this son—⁴

John Mackenneth, or Mackenzie, who is often referred to as the second chief of the clan. The name Mackenneth, claim Professor Keltie and Dr. Alexander Mackenzie, had now been softened into Mackenny, or Mackenzie, which became the name of the whole clan. Macbain, however, in his notes on Doctor Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, asserts that the name Mackenzie, or Kenzie, comes from the Gaelic, "Coinneach" meaning "fair one" and has nothing to do with the name Kenneth. "The z in the name arose from mistaking an old g for a z, Kengie being the real form."

John Mackenzie attached himself to the fortunes of Bruce under whom he fought at Inverury and to whom he gave shelter in his Castle of Eilandonnan.⁵ He attended the king at Inverness in 1312 and took part in the famous battle of Bannockburn, 1314. His death occurred in 1338.⁶ By his wife Margaret, daughter of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl,^{7‡} he had a son—

Kenneth Mackenzie III, known as "Coinneach na Sroine, or Kenneth of the Nose," so called on account of the great protuberance of that organ. He was in constant strife with the Earl of Ross whose soldiers Kenneth succeeded in driving from his district. The incensed earl finally imprisoned him and caused him to be executed at Inverness in 1346,⁸ but Mackenzie's men valiantly held Eilandonnan Castle which was passed on to his heir. It is said Kenneth married Finguela, daughter of Roderick Macleod of Lewis.⁹ Their son—¹⁰

Murdock Mackenzie IV was known as Black Murdock of the Cave or Murchadh Dubh na h'nagh. The story of his early life, as given by Doctor Mackenzie and other family historians, is somewhat as follows: After the murder of his father, Murdock, being very young, was sent for greater safety by his friend Duncan Macaulay to his grandfather, Macleod of Lewis. Here

*Gaelic for "fair one."

‡See Charts XIII or V.

†See Chart V^b.

The Clan Mackenzie

he earned the name of Murdock of the Cave as "he preferred sporting and hunting in the hills and forests to going to the Ward School; . . . and he also resorted to the dens and caves, hoping to get a hit at Leod Macgilleandreis . . ." who was instrumental in killing his father and seizing his possessions in Kintail. At last the opportunity came, for Leod, thinking Murdock dead, became overbold, and one day was surprised and slain by young Mackenzie.¹¹ Then Murdock returned to his own estates, completing his romantic life by marrying Isabel, only daughter of Macaulay of Lochbroom,¹² who in his youth had protected him from his enemies. The authenticity of the charter from David II in confirmation of his lands in Kintail is doubted.

Murdock died in 1375, and was succeeded by his son—¹³

Murdock Mackenzie V, known as Murdock of the Bridge or Murcahadh na drochaid. "He was one of the sixteen Highland chiefs who accompanied James, second Earl of Douglas, to England where, in the famous battle of Otterburn, the Scots defeated Sir Henry Percy, the renowned Hotspur."¹⁴ Not being in sympathy with his cause, Murdock refused to join Donald of the Isles on the expedition that culminated in the battle of Harlaw.¹⁵

Murdock died about 1416, leaving by his wife Finguela, daughter of Malcolm Macleod of Harris,¹⁶ a son—¹⁷

Alexander Mackenzie, VI of Kintail, known as Ionraic, The Upright. For many years, feuds between the clans had resulted in such lawlessness and menace to life and property that King James I, on his return from captivity in England, determined to restore order and safety to his domains. He is said to have declared, "Let God but grant me life, and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the furze bush, the cow . . ."¹⁸ For this purpose, he summoned the western barons, in 1427-28, to meet him at Inverness, where, unsuspecting any treachery, they assembled and were made prisoners. Among these was the youthful Alexander Mackenzie who, by the king's orders, was sent to the seminary at Perth to complete his education¹⁹ but he was soon obliged to leave in order to protect his own estates against the encroachments of relatives.

King James received his vigorous support in suppressing the uprising of Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross.²⁰ In recognition of his serv-

The Clan Chisholm

ices he was granted a royal charter confirming him in his lands of Kintail, besides a charter from the Crown of Strathconan, Strathgrave and other possessions forfeited by the Earl of Ross.²¹

Alexander married first Anna, daughter of John Macdougall of Dunolly and she was the mother of his eldest son Kenneth.²² By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Roderick Macdonald, third of Moidart, a cadet of Clanranald, he had a son Hector Roy from whom descended the Mackenzies of Gairloch.²³ Alexander died in 1488 at about ninety years of age and was buried in Beaully Priory. It is stated of him that "he had the love and respect of three Princes in whose reign he lived." His eldest son—²⁴

Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, VII of Kintail, was known as Kenneth of the Battle or a'Bhlair from the fact that he had won distinction in the "Battle of Park" (Blairnpark). He was served heir to his father in the lands of Kintail, 1488.* He is described as a man of action, jealous of his dignity and position and prompt to resent a slight. The somewhat serio-comic circumstances connected with his first marriage—vouched for by numerous historians—are related by Alexander Mackenzie and briefly summarized as follows: In order that friendly relations might be established with John of Isla, a marriage was arranged between Kenneth and Lady Margaret, daughter of John, Lord of the Isles.²⁵ On account of some slight to Kenneth, intended or otherwise, by a cousin of John of Isla, Kenneth, who was none too fond of his wife, in order to avenge the insult decided to return her to her people. "The lady was blind of an eye, and to insult her cousin to the highest pitch, he sent her home mounted on a one eyed horse, accompanied by an one eyed servant, and followed by an one eyed dog."²⁶ In revenge for this humiliation to Isla's daughter, the Macdonalds, with a superior force, ravaged the lands of Mackenzie, burning and plundering without mercy. At last they were terribly defeated by Kenneth, supported by other Highland clans, at the battle of Blairnpark.

After he had divorced his first wife he began a sort of a whirlwind courtship of Agnes, said to have been the daughter of Hugh Fraser of Lovat.²⁷† Being a stalwart, handsome man, renowned for his skill and valor, he easily gained the young lady's affections. His suit being opposed by her father

* Seaforth Charts.

† See Clan Chart D.



TOMB OF SIR KENNETH MACKENZIE OF KINTAIL,
PRIORY OF BEAULY

The Clan Mackenzie

and uncle, he carried her off to Kintail where they were married. Meanwhile, Lord Lovat, who was on none too friendly terms with the Macdonalds, became reconciled to the match and, sending his own chaplain to Rome, procured a dispensation from the Pope, legitimatizing the marriage of Kenneth and Agnes together with their offspring.*

It is claimed that Kenneth was knighted by James IV "for reducing his fierce countrymen to the blessings of civilized life."²⁸ He died in February 1491-92 and was buried in the priory church at Beaulieu. His tomb is still to be seen within the ruins of the church engraven "with a very perfectly legible inscription giving the date, 1491." The recumbent figure is carved in stone, the feet resting upon a dog, the head on a double cushion.²⁹† By Margaret of Isla he had a son, Kenneth Og, VIII of Kintail, but, as he was murdered, the succession passed to Kenneth VII's son John by his second wife Agnes Fraser.³⁰

John Mackenzie, IX of Kintail, son of the above Kenneth and Agnes Fraser Mackenzie, was designated as John of Killin, as he generally resided in that place. As he was very young at the time of his father's death his claim to the chiefship of Kintail was disputed by his uncle Hector Roy of Gairloch on the grounds that John was an illegitimate son of Kenneth by Agnes Fraser; but, as the Pope had recognized their union, Hector's claim was unsupported.

In 1500 John Mackenzie, through the influence of Lord Lovat, obtained from James Stewart, Duke of Ross, "a precept of clare constat" including the lands of Kintail.‡ With other Highland chiefs he supported King James IV at the disastrous field of Flodden and was taken prisoner by the English. On his return he was appointed, by the Lords of Council, Lieutenant or Guardian of Wester Ross to protect it from Donald Gallda Macdonald.³¹ Later he accompanied James V on his expedition to the Isles in 1540 and fought at the head of his clan at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. Here he was wounded and again taken prisoner but was soon released. He married Elizabeth, said to have been the daughter of John, tenth Laird of Grant.³²§

* In *The Scots Peerage* it is stated that no record of such a dispensation has been traced in the Vatican Archives.

† See illustration.

‡ Seaforth Charters.

§ This Grant is given in *The Scots Peerage*, vol. VII, p. 499, as John Grant, second of Freuchie.

The Clan Chisholm

Sir John Mackenzie died in 1561 and was buried in the family aisle at Beaully. His only son and successor was—³³

Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, X of Kintail, styled 'na Cuire, of the Whittle, because "he had a peculiar genius for mechanics and was seldom seen without his core, or some such tool, with which he produced excellent specimens of hand-carving."³⁴ The Earl of Huntly commanded Sir Kenneth—his father, then living, being too old to take the field—to proceed against the clan Ranald of Moidart. Upon his refusal Huntly ordered his own force of three thousand men to attack both Moidart and Mackenzie with fire and sword. As Huntly's followers were composed chiefly of Grants, Mackintoshes, Chisholms and Rosses, whose chiefs were related by marriage to Sir Kenneth—three of whose daughters having married respectively Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh; Alexander Chisholm of Comar; and Ross of Balnagown, while Kenneth's own mother was a Grant—the earl found his followers little disposed to molest Mackenzie. Thus he was obliged to retire without accomplishing his purpose.

In 1561, Sir Kenneth was among those who received Queen Mary on her arrival at Inverness and aided her in gaining possession of the castle to which the governor, Alexander, Earl of Huntly, refused to admit her. In 1538 he married Lady Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John Stewart, Earl of Atholl, by his wife Mary, daughter of Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll.³⁵* As heir apparent of Sir John Mackenzie he had a charter to himself and his "spouse, Elizabeth Stewart" of a part of the lordship of Kintail resigned by his father in 1543.†

Sir Kenneth died at Killin, June 6, 1568, and was buried at Beaully.³⁶ He was succeeded by his son Colin, of whom more later. His eldest daughter—

Lady Janet Mackenzie married first Aenas Macdonald, VII of Glangarry,³⁷ with issue a daughter Elizabeth who married John Roy Mackenzie of Gairloch‡ whose granddaughter married Alexander Chisholm, XVII of Comar.§ Lady Janet married as her second husband Alexander Chisholm, XII of Comar.³⁸

Sir Colin Mackenzie, XI of Kintail, styled Colin Cam (one-eyed), was the successor of his father Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, X of Kintail, and was

* See Charts V and VII.

‡ See Clan Chart B^b.

† Reg. Mag. Sig.

§ See Clan Chart A.

The Clan Mackenzie

served as his father's heir in several lands in the earldom of Ross.³⁹ "There is not a single man of the name of Colin found either among the chiefs or members of their clan, from their first appearance in history until we come to Colin Cam Mackenzie, XI of Kintail, who succeeded to the chiefship in June, 1568. It was the custom to name the second son after a member of the mother's family, and this Colin, who is said to have been Sir Kenneth's second son, was named after his mother, Lady Elizabeth Stewart's uncle Colin Campbell, third Earl of Argyll."*

In 1578-79 Colin was one of the several Scottish chiefs selected by the Privy Council to defend Glengarry against Argyll.⁴⁰ In that same year he was denounced for inhuman and cruel treatment of the Bishop of Ross and his wife Christian. From 1579 until 1588 his name frequently appears in the calender of state papers for misdemeanors or complaints brought against him by neighboring chiefs. For two years following 1588 "he was a member of a commission for executing the laws against Papists"⁴¹ and was also a member of a commission to investigate reported cases of witchcraft. In 1592 he was appointed Commissioner of Justiciary for the counties of Nairn and Inverness and was also a member of the Priory Council.⁴²

His death occurred at Redcastle in 1594,⁴³ from which place his body was carried to Beaulieu for burial. He was married to Barbara, daughter of John Grant of Freuchie,⁴⁴ by whom he had a son Kenneth who succeeded him. By Mary, daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Davochmaluag, he had a natural son—⁴⁵

Alexander Mackenzie who was the ancestor of the Mackenzies of Applecross.† He is said to have been a handsome young man and a favorite with both his father and his half brothers. He died at Pittonachty, March 10, 1650, at a very advanced age. By his second wife, Christiana, daughter of

* Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*.

† See Clan Chart B^a.

NOTE: The above sketch of the clan Mackenzie is based on the following authorities: *History of the Mackenzies* by the Earl of Cromartie; Dr. George Mackenzie's MS. *History of the Mackenzies*; Applecross MS., 1669; *The Scots Peer-*

age, vol. VII; Alexander Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*; *History of Beaulieu Priory*, Grampian Club; Professor Keltie's *History of the Highlands*; Doctor Skene's *The Highlands of Scotland*; Captain White's *History of Beaulieu Priory*; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, et al.

The Clan Chisholm

Hector Munro of Assyn,* he had a daughter who married John Chisholm, XVI of Comar.^{46†} His eldest granddaughter married Alexander, XIX of Comar.[‡]

Alexander Mackenzie of Coul and Applecross

The Mackenzies of Applecross were descended from—

Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, who was the natural son of Colin Cam Mackenzie, XI of Kintail, by Mary, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, II of Davochmalnag.§

Alexander acquired the designation “of Coul” from the following incident: When Alexander was quite an infant, he was sent to his father, Colin Cam of Kintail, at Brahan Castle. When Colin’s wife learned of the presence of the little stranger, she was naturally angry and, upon being asked by her husband what should be done with the child, replied, “Cuir ’sa Chuil e.” (“Put him in the ash-hole, or corner”). The baron of Kintail wisely did not argue the matter but went out and secretly placed Alexander under the care of a kindly woman who resided in a place called Coul. Then he returned to his lady and informed her that “he had acted upon her suggestion and left the child in the ‘Coul.’ ”

Alexander distinguished himself in the wars with Glengarry and Macleod of Lewis. By his “singular industry, gracious manners, and upright dealings” he won the respect and love of his neighbors and relatives, especially his half brother Kenneth, Lord of Kintail, “who on his death-bed, honored him with the gift of his own sword in testimony of his esteem and affection.” March 10, 1582 he was given a sasine of half the lands of Applecross. Other grants of land were made him between 1607 and 1619, and before his death he was possessed of a considerable estate.

By his first wife, Annabella, daughter of Murdock, Mackenzie, I of Fairburn, he had a son—

*A charter dated July, 1617, refers to “Alexandro Mackenzie de Coul et Christianae Munroe ejus spousae.”

†See Clan Chart A.

‡See Clan Chart A.

§Mackenzie’s *History of the Mackenzies*.

The Clan Mackenzie

Roderick Mackenzie, I of Applecross, whose eldest daughter married Alexander Chisholm, XIX of Comar.

The Mackenzies of Gairloch

This family is descended from Alexander Mackenzie, VI of Kintail,* who married for his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Roderick Macdonald, III of Moidart and Clanranald.†

Alexander's son by his wife Margaret was—

Hector Roy Mackenzie, I of Gairloch, who was called by the Highlanders "Eachin Roy" or Red Hector, from the color of his hair. He was a man of great courage and was guardian to his nephew, John Mackenzie, IX of Kintail.‡ Claiming that his nephew John was illegitimate, Hector for a while held possession of the entire estates himself, "the whole clan submitting, as he was a great favorite"; but he was finally forced by strategy to yield Kintail to his nephew John, who, pretending to leave the country by water, returned secretly with a few picked men to Hector's house at midnight and, setting fire to it, forced all the inmates to surrender, including his uncle with whom John made favorable terms for the delivery of Kintail when he should reach the age of twenty-one.

Hector Mackenzie led the Mackenzie clan on the side of James III in the battle of Sanchieburn. "Narrowly escaping the hands of the rebels, he took the stronghold of Redcastle in Ross-shire." James IV, who had headed the rebels against his father, wishing to attach to himself such of the leading men as had been staunch friends of his father, rewarded Hector for his loyalty to the former king by granting him, in 1494, the Barony of Gairloch in Ross-shire together with Brahan in the Low Country. These grants added materially to his already extensive property.

Hector also commanded his clan at the battle of Flodden where most of his followers were slain and he himself narrowly escaped death. He married his cousin Anne, daughter of Ranald Ban Macdonald, V of Moidart and Clanranald.§ On his death in 1528 he was succeeded by his son—

John Glassich Mackenzie, II of Gairloch, who, unlike his father, was

*See Clan Chart B.

‡See Clan Chart B.

†See Clan Chart C^b.

§See Clan Chart C^b.

The Clan Chisholm

neither loyal to his chief nor to his king, and in 1547 "his estates were forfeited for his refusal to join the Royal Standard, but this forfeiture seems never to have been effective." He hoped to win back some of the land that his father had deeded to John, IX of Kintail. As a result a feud ensued between him and his chief. According to one MS. he was surprised in his house at night by a band of Kintail men and sent a prisoner to Island Dowman where he died from poisoning in 1550. Another account states that he was invited by John of Kintail to a Christmas dinner to meet Lady Elizabeth Stewart, wife of Kenneth, the Laird of Mackenzie's son. On pretence of jealousy on account of Lady Elizabeth, Kenneth had him bound with ropes and taken to Island Dowman "where his death was occasioned by poison administered to him in a mess of milk soup."

John Glassich Mackenzie married Janet, or Agnes, daughter of James Fraser of Phonias, or Foynes, brother of Hugh, third Lord of Lovat.* On his death in 1550, he was buried in the Priory of Beaulieu. Two of his three sons met violent deaths but his son—

John Roy Mackenzie, IV of Gairloch, finally carried his estates to his heirs. After the murder of his father, John Roy's mother fled with him to her Fraser relatives. Later, having married Thomas Chisholm, XV of Comar, she sought sanctuary for her son in the home of the Chisholms, where, according to an old MS. quoted by Alexander Mackenzie, she so feared the discovery of her child that she concealed him under a brewing kettle every night. At last he was cared for by the Lords of Moidart and Farr until he grew to manhood when his estates were restored to him by Colin Cam Mackenzie, Laird of Kintail. He married for his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Aenas, or Angus, Macdonald, VII of Glengarry, by his wife Janet, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, X of Kintail, and his wife Lady Elizabeth Stewart. He was succeeded by his second son—

Alexander Mackenzie, V of Gairloch, who married first Margaret, daughter of Roderick Mor Mackenzie of Redcastle. Their daughter married Alexander Chisholm, XVII of Comar.

*Anderson's *Account of the Family of Fraser*, p. 75.

NOTE: The above outline is founded almost entirely upon Alexander Macken-

zie's *History of the Mackenzies*; Keltie's *History of the Highland Clans*; Anderson's *Account of the Family of Fraser*.



XII

The Clan Donald



IN the struggle for royal authority, "the Macdonalds were almost always those who raised the standard of revolt, though they were aided and abetted by other chiefs and clans. These western magnates . . . seem to have cherished a strong feeling of antagonism to the Scottish government. They affected the style and title of princes, maintained an army and fleet, and entered several times into an alliance with England. They made every effort for many years to maintain their independence and throw off their allegiance to Scotland."¹

It is difficult to give an absolutely authentic origin of this ancient and powerful family, as many of the theories advanced by antiquarians and early historians have proved to be merely speculative. However, the facts accepted by the most reliable authorities have been taken advantage of in the following account.

The Macdonalds and Macdonells* are so closely related to the Chisholms through frequent intermarriage that they, like the Mackenzies and Frasers, must be considered somewhat in detail as being the immediate ancestors of the Strathglass Chisholms. The last Macdonell to appear in this present genealogy of the Chisholms of New York was Alexander Macdonell of the Glengarry branch, the great-great-grandfather of the present Mr. Hugh J. Chisholm.

According to Buchanan the family of the Isles was "the most distinguished and powerful of the ancient Scots" but there has always been considerable controversy relative to the ancient descent of these Lords of the Isles. Although Doctor Skene would give them an original Scottish background, there is decided evidence that the clan Donald was of Scoto-Irish origin which theory is supported by Dean Munroe's MS. of 1549, *The Annals of Ulster*, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, Gregory, the historian, et al.†

*The Glengarry branch styled themselves in this manner after 1660. The original form of the word was Domhnaill, pronounced exactly like Donnell.

†Ireland, it must be remembered, in the ancient western world was the very cradle of religion and the nursery of civilization.

The Clan Chisholm

The clan was formerly known as Siol Chuinn, or the descendants of the renowned warrior-king, Conn of the Hundred Battles, High King of Ireland, who swayed the sceptre of Tara in the second century.² It has also been known, and still is, as the clan Cholla, or the descendants of Colla Uais, a later High King of Ireland and a descendant of Constantine. Colla Uais was the son of Eochaid Dubhlin, King of Ireland and his wife Aileach, daughter of Ubdaire, King of Alba.³ The coming of this Scottish princess to Ireland and her subsequent residence there are celebrated in a very ancient Irish poem in which she is described as "a mild true woman, modest and blooming." Colla died at Tara in 337.

Fergus Mor,* son of Eric, was one of the three brothers, Lorn, Angus and Fergus, who in the sixth century founded the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada; he was fourth or possibly fifth in descent from Colla Uais.⁴ After Fergus had governed his Dalriadic kingdom wisely and bravely for twenty-five years, he decided to revisit Ireland—some say, being afflicted by a skin disease he wished to avail himself of the waters of a medicinal spring in the rock on which now stands the Castle of Carrickfergus. In crossing the channel his ship was wrecked and Fergus was drowned. It is said that his body was recovered from the sea and buried at Ballymanach near Carrickfergus.⁵ Fergus' eldest son, Domnagart, was the ancestor of Kenneth MacAlpine and the succeeding kings of Scotland.⁶

Godfrey, the younger son of Fergus, was the progenitor of the line from which the clan Donald sprang.⁷ "When the seat of government was transferred from Dalriada to Scone in the ninth century, the Clan Cholla, as the family nearest of kin to the Dalriadic throne, rose into consequence in Argyll and became the leading representative of the race in that region."⁸

*Previous to the departure of Fergus (who was the son of Eric, King of Dalriada) from the Irish coast, he appears to have owned land surrounding the present village of Armoy, where he granted lands to St. Patrick in 474 to build and endow the first Christian church there. The Saint is said to have especially blessed Fergus for this and at the same time predicted the future superiority of his family over

those of his brothers. (Reeve's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 80, 244). Fergus is also said to have brought with him the celebrated Lia Fail, or Stone of Fate, on which the Irish monarchs were crowned at Tara and on which later the Scottish kings were crowned until it was carried off to England by Edward I. (George Buchanan in *Historia*, lib. VI, chap. III).

The Clan Donald

There are several links between Godfrey and the great Somerled not recorded until the first half of the eleventh century is reached when there appears—

Gilledonnan, the grandfather of Somerled.⁹ He held sway over a considerable portion of Argyll. That he was a man of importance is emphasized by the fact that his daughter became the wife of Harold, one of the kings of Norway.¹⁰ Later he was driven by the Scandinavians from Argyll and took refuge in Ireland where he probably died. His son—¹¹

Gillebride, who was a companion of his flight to Ireland, returned to Argyll with a band of Irish warriors determined to regain his ancestral domains. Being unsuccessful in this attempt he was obliged to seek shelter in the woods and caves of Morvern. Here in a cave on the shores of Loch Linnhe he lived with his young son, Somerled, who subsequently became “the terror of the Norsemen, and the Achilles of his race.”¹²

Somerled. The early history of Somerled is based almost entirely upon tradition embodied in the MS. histories of MacVuirich, Hugh Macdonald, and other family researchers. In his youth he is said to have been “an indolent handsome giant, occupied chiefly in hunting and fishing, and was looked upon by his father with contempt for his unwarlike spirit”;¹³ but later the realization of the misfortunes of his once kingly house awoke in him a determination to regain his lost estates and restore his family to its former position of power and influence.

It appears that a strenuous effort was made by the native tribes of Argyll to free themselves from the Scandinavian yoke. Finally they chose as their leader Somerled before whom, and his Celtic followers, the Norsemen fled in a panic from the mainland of Argyll and sought refuge in the Western Isles.¹⁴* Somerled then assumed the title of Thane, or *Regulus*, of Argyll. Not content with this conquest, he aspired to subdue the kingdom of Man and the Isles. With this object in view he made an alliance with Olave the Red, King of Man and the Isles, by marrying the latter’s beautiful daughter Ragnhilda in 1140.¹⁵†

King Olave, being afterwards assassinated, his son Godred became King of Man. His rule was so tyrannical that Somerled, with the aid of Thorfinn, Earl of Caithness, attempted to overthrow Godred and, at the suggestion

*The interesting story of the strategy he used at this time is given in the Appendix.

†The legend relating the means he used to win his bride is given in the Appendix.

The Clan Chisholm

of the Islesmen, place his own son Dugall on the throne of Man. After a bloody and indecisive battle an agreement was entered into by which Somerled was to receive the Southern Isles while the Northern Isles and the Isle of Man were to remain in the possession of Godred. Two years later Somerled successfully invaded the Isle of Man compelling Godred to flee to Norway and thus he gained control over Man and the Isles;¹⁶ also he obtained from Norway the title of King of the Sudereys.¹⁷

King Malcolm, becoming jealous of the growing power of this northern chief, demanded that Somerled should hold his possessions only as a vassal of the king of Scotland. Somerled, refusing, declared war, and gathering a mighty army from Argyll, Ireland, and the Isles, he sailed up the Clyde and, landing, marched overland to Renfrew where the king's army was encamped. According to the Highland chroniclers no battle took place but it is stated that Somerled was treacherously assassinated in his tent by a distant relative "sent by the advisors of King Malcolm to despatch so powerful a foe." Learning of the fate of their leader his followers fled to their galleys and sailed away without striking a blow.¹⁸ The body of Somerled was taken to Kintyre and buried in the Abbey of Saddell, the building which was begun by himself and completed by his son Reginald.¹⁹

Somerled is described in *Clan Donald* as "probably the greatest hero that his race has produced. . . . He possessed not only the courage and dash which are associated with the Celtic character, but he had the organizing brain . . . the art not only of winning battles but of turning them to account. . . . He was the instrument by which the position, the power, and the language of the Gael were saved from being overwhelmed by Teutonic influence. . . . He founded a family that played no ignoble part in Scottish history."

Somerled's possessions were divided among his three sons, Reginald, his successor in the Isles, Dugall, the probable ancestor of the MacDougalls of Lorn, and Angus, whose granddaughter Jean married Alexander, son of Walter the High Steward.^{20*}

Lords of the Isles

On Somerled's death in 1164 his son—²¹

Reginald received Kintyre and Isla.²² He was respected alike in Scotland

*See Chart V.

The Clan Donald

and Ulster where he often acted as peacemaker. He was the first to be styled Lord of the Isles in an authentic document.²³ Of his activities little is known. He married Fonia, a daughter of Ranulf, ancestor of the Earl of Moray,^{24*} and died in 1207.²⁵ By his wife Fonia he had three sons: Ruari or Roderick of Bute and Kintyre, Donald and Dugall. To his son Dugall some historians trace the descent of the clan Dugall of Lorn instead of from Dugall, son of Somerled.^{26†} Reginald also had a daughter who married Alan, Lord of Galloway.^{27‡} He was succeeded in the Isles by his son—²⁸

Donald from whom the Macdonalds derive their name. Donald inherited from his father Isla and South Kintyre and he also came into possession of his brother Roderick's lands. Unlike his father, he was a man of blood and iron and the early part of his life is marked by many shocking deeds of cruelty and violence. He killed his uncle Dugall with whom he had quarrelled and then caused to be decapitated Sir William Rollock, an ambassador sent him by King Alexander. These acts were followed by the banishment of Gillies, a natural son of Somerled, and the murder of Gillies' young son.²⁹ Suddenly repentant, he went to Rome accompanied by seven priests. When asked by the Pope if he were "willing to endure any torment the Church wished to inflict, he replied that he was willing, should they please to burn him in a caldron of lead."³⁰ Seeing him thus repentant, the Pope gave him absolution. In expiation for the past he made valuable gifts of land to the church.³¹ He died probably before 1249, leaving by his wife, a daughter of Walter the High Steward of Scotland,³² two sons. He was succeeded by his eldest son—³³

Angus Mor Macdonald. This chief assisted King Haakon during the whole of his expedition against the Scottish king which ended in the battle of Largs; yet it seems that none of his territory was forfeited when by treaty the Isles passed into the possession of the Scottish Crown. In fact, towards the close of Alexander III's reign, this island chief and his sovereign appear on such terms of friendship that Angus was one of the three nobles from Argyll selected to attend the "Convention of Estates convened to settle the succession to the throne."³⁴ Subsequently, in the contest between Bruce and Balliol for the Scottish throne, Angus Mor is known to have supported the claims of the elder Bruce³⁵ and to have ignored the repeated summons of

* See Chart XV.

‡ See English Chart VI.

† See Chart V^b.

The Clan Chisholm

John Balliol when that king ordered him to do homage.³⁶

Angus, like his father, generously remembered the Church by gifts of land and money. He is said to have been “of an amiable and cheerful disposition, and more witty than any could take from his countenance.”³⁷ He married a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochawe,^{38*} and died about 1296 at his seat in Isla, being buried at Icolmkill.³⁹ He was at first succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander, who, having joined John of Lorn in his opposition to the accession of Robert Bruce, was defeated by that king and imprisoned in Dundonald Castle where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited and given to his brother—⁴⁰

Angus Og Macdonald, second son of Angus Mor. He succeeded his elder brother in 1308, “both in his lands and in the chiefship of the Clan.” Although there appeared little hope for material gain, Angus Og generously espoused the cause of Bruce when that king’s fortunes were at their lowest ebb. Bruce, in his hour of adversity after the disastrous battle of Methven, was received and sheltered by Angus in his castles of Saddell and Dunaverty. Later Angus aided him to a safer refuge on Rachlin (or Rathlin) Isle, a small island off the Irish coast owned by the Clan Donald,⁴¹ where the king spent the winter.

At the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, Angus Og, at the head of his Islesmen numbering over five thousand, formed a division in the rear (reserve) under the immediate command of the Scottish king.⁴² At the critical moment Bruce directed the restless Highlanders to the attack. Scott in his *Lord of the Isles* gives Bruce’s command in the following stirring words:

One effort more and Scotland’s free!
Lord of the Isles my trust in thee
Is firm as Ailsa rock;
Rush on with Highland sword and targe,
I with my Carrick spearmen charge;
Now forward to the shock!

Angus Og and his followers rushed into the thickest of the fight. From this moment the tide of battle turned. The English fled in disorder and the independence of Scotland became an established fact. As a permanent mark for distinguished service on that memorable day, Bruce assigned to Angus and his descendants, including his clansmen, the honorable position of the

*See Chart VII.



TOMB OF ANGUS MACDONALD, LORD OF THE ISLES,
IN IONA

The Clan Donald

right flank of the royal army.⁴³ The king in gratitude also bestowed upon Angus Og and Roderick, son of Allen Macruarie, Lochabar, formerly belonging to the Comyns, together with part of the lands belonging to the family of Lorn.⁴⁴ To neutralize the effects of such an addition to their power, and to remind the Lords of the Isles that they held their lands of the Scottish Crown, Bruce erected Tarbet Castle at Kintyre as a royal stronghold.

Angus Og married Margaret (or Agnes), daughter of Guy O'Cathan of Ireland,⁴⁵ one of the greatest of the barons of Ulster and Master of the whole county of Derry.⁴⁶ "The Lord of the Isles obtained a unique dowry with his bride. . . . It took the form of seven score men out of every surname in O'Cathan's territory."* The descendants of these stalwart Irishmen are still known as "The dowry of O'Cathan's daughter."

Angus' daughter, Fingola or Finvola, married by special dispensation John Stewart.⁴⁷ Another daughter married William, Earl of Ross.⁴⁸†

The death of this powerful Island chief, who figures in the title role of Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, occurred between 1329 and 1330, at his Castle of Finlaggan in Isla. His body was carried to Iona for burial where a well preserved tombstone marks his last resting place.

He was succeeded by his only lawful son—⁴⁹

John of Isla, styled by the clergy on account of his liberality to the Church, as "Good John of the Isles." He was the most able and sagacious chief of his distinguished line. In his time Scotland was again divided by various claimants to the crown, David Bruce and Edward Balliol—that unpatriotic tool of King Edward III of England—being the principal rivals. The boy king, David II, was in exile in France, and John of Isla, having had some dispute with the regent concerning certain lands granted his father by Bruce, entered into a treaty of alliance with Balliol who, receiving the support of the English, had been crowned King of the Scots. Balliol readily confirmed him in possession of all his land. This treaty, later ratified by Edward III, whose vassal Balliol acknowledged himself to be, bound John and his heirs to give loyal support to Edward.⁵⁰ The English king did all he could to attach the powerful Lord of the Isles to his interest. He gave him safe conduct whenever he wished to travel in England and in 1337 sent him a letter in which the king addresses John as his "dearest friend."⁵¹

* *Clan Donald*.

† See Chart XVII.

The Clan Chisholm

In spite of all the intrigues of Edward III, Balliol was overthrown and David II recalled from France. Before undertaking the invasion of England in 1343-44 David, anxious to attach to his party the most powerful of the Scottish barons, pardoned both John of Isla and Reginald Macruarie, reconfirming the Lord of the Isles in his estates, with the exception of Kintyre and Skye.⁵² In 1346 Reginald was treacherously murdered by the Earl of Ross;* thereupon John, through his first wife, Amy Macruarie, sister of Reginald, laid claim to all the land belonging to the murdered chief. The Scottish government refused to recognize his claim although for a number of years he was left in undisputed possession of the Macruarie territories. According to Gregory, John is described for the first time in a deed dated 1354 as "Dominus Insularum," Lord of the Isles.

In 1356 he openly took a stand in opposition to the interests of the English king by leading a large body of Highlanders who fought in the service of the French king in the famous battle of Poitiers, September 19, 1356. In this engagement the Lord of the Isles was taken prisoner by the English but afterwards obtained from the king safe conduct to return to his island home that he might obtain the necessary ransom for his release.⁵³ A year later he was among those who took an active part in arranging for the liberation and ransom of David II who had been held captive in England for eleven years.⁵⁴

Doubtless due to his long residence in England "David II became a partisan of Edward III. As soon as the English party became identified with the royal faction, John of Isla abandoned it and joined the national party headed by Robert, the High Steward, grandson of Robert Bruce."⁵⁵ He further cemented his allegiance to the party for Scottish independence by divorcing his first wife Amy Macruarie and, by special dispensation, marrying Lady Margaret, daughter of the High Steward, later King Robert II.⁵⁶† Amy, a good and pious gentlewoman, is said to have lived for some years after her separation from John and to have built Castle Tirrim in Moidart besides several places of worship.

In 1363 the king bestowed upon John of Isla a charter of confirmation of all lands possessed by him or inherited through his first wife.⁵⁷ These latter lands John granted to Reginald, his son by Amy Macruarie.

*See The Macdonalds of Clanranald.

†See Chart VI.

The Clan Donald

In 1360 John of Isla was appointed constable of Edinburgh Castle,⁵⁸ and four years later he acted, during a part at least of the time his father-in-law Robert was in prison, as High Steward to the household of David II.⁵⁹ Later he was sent as an envoy to Flanders in the interest of the king.⁶⁰ Although he had held these important offices of State, John is found among those northern barons who rebelled not only against paying the heavy taxes levied to cover David II's ransom but refused to attend the meeting of the Estates.⁶¹ Finally the king was obliged to appeal to the High Steward, whom he had imprisoned, to aid him in pacifying these barons. John at first refused to submit, but at last, in 1369, his father-in-law arranged a meeting between him and the king at Inverness where a treaty known as the Treaty of Inverness was entered into by which John agreed not only to support the royal government but to put down all those who dared oppose it.

Robert Stewart on his accession to the throne of Scotland as Robert II confirmed his "beloved son, John of Isla," in the possession of his estates—most of which he had first resigned into the king's hands—besides making additional grants to John's already princely domains.⁶² Thus John would be succeeded in the Lordship of the Isles by his eldest son of his second marriage, Donald, grandson of the king.

John, Lord of the Isles, died in 1387⁶³ and was buried with great pomp and splendor in the sacred precincts of Iona.

By his first wife Amy, heiress of the Macruaries, whom he married by a special Papal dispensation dated 1337, he had a son Reginald, progenitor of the Clanranald.* John Mor, a son by his second wife, Lady Margaret, became the founder of the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg.†

John of Isla was succeeded in the lordship of the Isles by his eldest son of his second marriage—⁶⁴

Donald, 2nd Lord of the Isles, who became feudal superior of the children by his father's first marriage. He was a man of distinguished ability and popular with his clansmen. He aspired to the style of an independent sovereign and was possessed with the ambition to make the island kingdom purely Celtic and independent of the Scottish Crown. With this purpose in view, he and his brothers became frequent and distinguished visitors at the English court. In 1405, and again in 1408, Henry IV entered into a

*See Clan Chart C^b.

†See Clan Chart C^c.

The Clan Chisholm

league of alliance and friendship with Donald of the Isles and his brother John.⁶⁵

Through his marriage with Lady Margaret* Leslie, only daughter of Euphemia, Countess of Ross, and her first husband, Sir Walter Leslie,†⁶⁶ Donald, by right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Ross, which claim was disputed by his grasping and unscrupulous uncle, the Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland, who, through his granddaughter Euphemia, daughter of Lady Margaret's only brother Alexander, had obtained title to it in favor of his own son John, Earl of Buchan.⁶⁷ Euphemia became a nun and Donald declared that by taking the veil she had become legally dead and that the earldom, through his wife, belonged to him. But the Government, fearing the addition of so vast a district to his already too extensive territories, refused his demands.

However, the Island Chief was in no mood to argue and he promptly resorted to the sword. Collecting all the forces he could command he invaded the Earldom of Ross where he met with little opposition and, sweeping through Moray, he penetrated into Aberdeenshire, threatening to burn the town of Aberdeen. Here he was met at the village of Harlaw by the Earl of Mar with a far inferior but better equipped and disciplined army composed for the most part of mounted mail-clad knights and men armed with spears, battle-axes, and metal shields, while their "plaided and kilted Highland opponents, protected only by wooden shields," attacked their foe with the unwieldy claymore, bows and axes.⁶⁸ This famous battle of Harlaw, fought July 24, 1411,⁶⁹ resulted in what might be termed a draw, both parties claiming the victory. The Highlanders' loss was far less in proportion to that of the Lowlanders, nevertheless Donald retreated to his island stronghold. In the ensuing summer hostilities were again resumed with varying success but in 1415 the title of the earldom finally passed to the Regent's son, the Earl of Buchan, who died in France in 1424. However, Gregory states that, "as Donald's claim to the Earldom of Ross in right of his wife was virtually admitted by James I, and as Donald himself was actually in possession of that Earldom and acknowledged by the vassals in 1411, he may without impropriety be called the first Earl of Ross of his family." Donald made liberal grants of land to the monastery of Iona and "made a

* Called Mary by Gregory.

† See Chart XVII^a.

The Clan Donald

covering of gold and silver for the relic of the hand of St. Columba." Before his death he retired from the world and joined a religious order.

The exact date of the death of Donald is undetermined but it occurred at his Castle Ardhornish in Morven, probably about 1423.⁷⁰ His remains were buried at Iona with all the attending pomp and ceremony due a great prince. He was succeeded by his son—⁷¹

Alexander, 3rd Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, who was a man of great spirit and marked ability. Like his father and grandfather, he was desirous to found a Celtic kingdom, the sovereignty of which should remain in his family.⁷² There are no existing proofs that Alexander's mother, the Dowager Lady of the Isles, came into possession of the earldom of Ross on the death of the Earl of Buchan although Alexander is said to have styled himself Master of Ross, and it was not until September, 1437, that there appears a charter from the Lord of the Isles in which he is first designated as Earl of Ross.⁷³ Doctor Skene and Mackenzie state that he was recognized as the Earl of Ross in 1430.

James I had now returned from exile, and the government of Scotland was in the hands of a king who, by his energy and resourcefulness, proved himself competent to control his turbulent nobles. Distrustful of his ability to reduce the northern barons to obedience by force of arms, he had recourse to stratagem. In 1427 he summoned the northern barons to attend a parliament to be held at Inverness and proceeded there himself at the head of such a large force that resistance would be unavailing. With fear and trembling the nobles obeyed.

Upon their arrival they were arrested and placed in irons while the king gleefully watched the success of his somewhat "unkingly trick."⁷⁴ About forty chiefs were made prisoners, among the number being Alexander, Lord of the Isles and his mother, the titular Countess of Ross. Many of the chiefs were executed. Owing to his promise of future good behavior, the imprisonment of Alexander of the Isles was of short duration; his mother, however, was retained as hostage for his loyalty on the Island of Inchcolm.⁷⁵

The king, when he released Alexander, seems to have forgotten that "vows made in pain, or at least in duress, are violent and void." The submission of the Island Chief was merely feigned. As soon as he recovered his liberty he flew to arms and by the time the king reached Edinburgh, Alexander of

The Clan Chisholm

Isla, and his followers had pillaged and burned Inverness, 1429.⁷⁶ On his way home he was surprised and defeated by the royal army in Badenoch, near Lochabar,⁷⁷ and was forced to resort to flight. Deserted by the Camerons and the Mackintoshes, and finding escape or concealment impossible in his wild domains, he decided to throw himself upon the clemency of the king. He went to Edinburgh where the Court was celebrating the festival of Easter Sunday in the chapel of Holyrood. Here, "wild and haggard, he appeared before the assembled Court; without armour or ornaments; his legs and arms bare, and his body covered only with a plaid."⁷⁸ Fordun declares that this proud chief was clad only "in his shirt and drawers." In one hand he held his bonnet; in the other, his naked sword by the point, which, kneeling before the king, he offered to him in token of his unreserved submission. Touched by this humiliating spectacle, as well as influenced by the entreaties of his Queen Joan,* King James granted the chief his life but ordered him imprisoned in Tantallon Castle.⁷⁹ To avenge the imprisonment of his lord and relative, also the assassination of his father, John Mor, Donald Balloch met and defeated the king's forces at Inverlochy in 1431.†

Later the king granted the Lord of the Isles his liberty and restored to him his ancestral rights and property. Alexander on his part did not again disturb the peace of the nation. During the minority of James II he held the office of Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth. He married first Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon and Huntly,‡ by whom he had a daughter Agnes who married Sir John Montgomerie.§ According to MacVuirich in the *Book of Clanranald*, and Macdonald in *Clan Donald*, page 183, he married for his second wife a daughter of Macphee of Lochabar; but Mackenzie states they were not married and no reference is made to such a marriage in the *Scots Peerage*, but both mention a son Celestine by a daughter of Macphee.

Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, died in Castle Dingwell and was buried in the Chanonry of Ross, May, 1449.⁸⁰ He was succeeded by his eldest son John, a man whose ill-advised intrigues with the banished Douglas and the English king, Edward IV, brought down upon him the

*Afterwards wife of John Stewart the Chart C^c.

Black Knight. See Chart V.

‡ See Chart XVI.

† See Macdonalds of Dunnyveg, also Clan

§ See Chart VIII^b.

The Clan Donald

wrath of the government. Twice his lands were forfeited and twice restored. His half brother—

Celestine Macdonald of Lochalsh was the natural son of Alexander, 1st Earl of Ross and 3rd Lord of the Isles.⁸¹ He was sheriff of Inverness and keeper of Redcastle. He married Finvola, daughter of Lachlan Maclean of Duart.⁸² Dying between 1473 and 1476, he was succeeded by his son—⁸³

Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh. After the violent death of John, Lord of the Isles', natural son Angus Og, the Island Chief surrendered the active government of his territories to his nephew Alexander. In 1488 Sir Alexander invaded the mainland with the purpose of wresting the possessions of the earldom of Ross—which his uncle John had surrendered to the Crown—from those who held them from the king, especially the Mackenzies, whose young chief, Kenneth, had insulted the Macdonalds by returning his wife, Alexander's cousin Margaret, to her father, John of the Isles, under the most humiliating circumstances.*

Sir Alexander with a strong following pillaged and laid waste the land from Badenoch to Inverness, then proceeded to Strathconan for the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mackenzies. They encamped at a place called Park, where they were surprised and defeated by an inferior force under Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. As the result of this uprising, John of the Isles, who may or may not have been directly involved in these rebellious proceedings, was obliged finally to forfeit the lordship of the Isles which were annexed to the Crown, and the last of the great Lords of the Isles became a pensioner on the bounty of King James IV.

Anxious to conciliate the clan Donald, the king on his visit to the Highlands knighted Alexander of Lochalsh and confirmed him in his lands.⁸⁴ In a last attempt to recover Ross, Sir Alexander was driven out by the Mackenzies and retreated to the Island of Orinsay where he was assassinated in 1498 by one of his own clansmen, who doubtless sought to gain favor with the king by removing so frequent a disturber of the peace.

Sir Alexander's eldest son, Sir Donald, known as "Donald Gallda,"†

* See Clan Mackenzie.

† It was this Sir Donald Gallda who, after being knighted under the royal banner on the field of Flodden, marched to Urquhart with a large body of Highlanders,

among them Wiland Chisholm of Comar, seized the castle, and plundered and laid waste the adjoining lands then the property of John Grant of Freuchie.

The Clan Chisholm

was elected by the Islanders to the lordship of the Isles. On his death without issue his sister—

Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander,⁸⁵ succeeded to half his property and became the lineal representative and heiress of the forfeited earldom of Ross. She married Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry.* Their great-granddaughter married Alexander Chisholm of Comar.†

* See Clan Chart C^b.

† See Clan Chart A.

NOTE: The preceding sketch is based on the authority of *The Scots Peerage*, vol. V; *The Complete Peerage*, vol. VII; Skene's *The Highlanders of Scotland*; Keltie's *History of the Highlands*; Gregory's *Western Highlands and Isles*; Scott's

History of Scotland; Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*; Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*; Macdonald's *Clan Donald*; Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*; Rev. George Hill's *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*; Hugh Macdonald's MS.; Mackay's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*.



XIII

The Macdonalds of Glengarry



LENGARRY was formerly a part of the lordship of Lochabar which was forfeited by the Comyn family in the early part of the fourteenth century. It is first recorded as a place name in a grant by Bruce to his nephew, Thomas Randolph.¹ Later by royal grant and forfeiture the whole of Lochabar came into possession of the Lords of the Isles.

To his son Reginald, John, Lord of the Isles, granted the lands of Lochabar, which grant was confirmed by Robert II in 1371-72. Donald, the acknowledged progenitor of the family of Glengarry, may have inherited these domains from his father Reginald, although there is no record to that effect.

The family of Glengarry in later years claimed the distinction of being chiefs by right of blood of the whole Clan Donald and also the hereditary earls of Ross. They based their contention on the fact that they were the descendants of Celestine who, they claimed, was the legitimate and not the natural son of Alexander, Lord of the Isles. In the *Register of the Great Seal*, Vol. VI, 116, and Vol. XIII, 186, Celestine is called "frater" without any qualifications by Earl John, last Lord of the Isles, who died without legitimate surviving issue.

The name "Macdonell", by which this branch of the family was later known, first appears on record as a family name of Glengarry in 1660, when it is used in the patent of nobility granted Aenas Macdonell of Glengarry.² It is from the Glengarry branch of the Macdonalds that Alexander Macdonell, great-grandfather of Mr. Hugh J. Chisholm of New York, was descended.

There is little of interest to relate concerning the early chiefs of Glengarry, as there are few if any public documents relative to them in existence. This is probably accounted for from the fact that their lands were not at first held of the Crown.

Donald MacRanald, 1st of Glengarry, progenitor of this branch of the Macdonalds, was the son of Reginald (or Ranald), son of John, Lord of the Isles, by his first marriage.³ * His father bestowed upon him the steward-

* See Clan Chart C.

The Clan Chisholm

ship of Lochabar. The historian, Gregory, states that being quite young he was dispossessed of his lands by his uncle Godfrey. On the execution of the son of the latter, in 1427, Glengarry reverted to the Crown, the Macdonalds of Glengarry becoming Crown tenants, but ultimately they obtained a charter of their former domains.

Donald died at Lochabar in 1420 and was buried at Rollaig Orain in Iona.⁴ He married as his second wife a daughter of Fraser of Lovat by whom he had a son—⁵

Alexander (or Alastair) Macdonald, 2nd of Glengarry, from whom the family take their Gallic patronymic Mac' ic Alastair. He is described by MacVuirich as "a powerful, bold, warlike Lord" and is the first of the family of Glengarry whose name is found in the public records, and that only many years after his death. He married Mary, only daughter of Hector Maclean of Duart.⁶ Alexander died on the Island of Abbas in 1460 and was buried at Rollaig Orain.⁷ He was succeeded by his eldest son—⁸

John Macdonald, 3rd of Glengarry, of whom little is known. One family historian states that he was treacherously slain by Fraser of Lovat "who had invited him to a friendly interview." He married a daughter of Donald Cameron of Lochiel⁹ and probably died at Invergarry in 1501, being buried at Kilionain. He was succeeded by his only son—¹⁰

Alexander Macdonald, 4th of Glengarry, designated as Alexander Mac-Ian MacAlister and frequently as Alexander John Alexander Ronaldson. Alexander was for many years at odds with the government regarding the charters for his lands. In 1501 he received a summons for "wrongous occupation" of the lands of Morar and Glengarry, portions of the latter having been granted Alexander, son of the Earl of Huntly.¹¹ Indeed, much of the rebellion among the Island chiefs at this time is traceable to the unjustifiable act of the king in granting leases out of almost the entire lordship of the Isles to his favorites, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll.¹²

Alexander supported his brother-in-law, Donald Gallda, in the latter's struggles to be proclaimed Lord of the Isles, and was with him when Donald descended upon Urquhart Castle and plundered the lands of Grant of Freuchie. In 1517 Grant of Freuchie obtained a decree against Sir Donald Gallda, Willard Chisholm of Comar, Alexander Macdonald, et al, "For the wrongous and violent spoliation, and takand of the fortalice of Urquhart,

The Macdonalds of Glengarry

frae the said John, the Grant, and for £2000 as the value thereof.”¹³ Friction between the government and Alexander of Glengarry continued until in 1531 he, with other Macdonald chieftains, “was repeatedly summoned for treason.”¹⁴ Nothing, however, came of it as he was soon pardoned for all past offenses upon his submission to the king. The indifference with which these Island chiefs treated a royal summons, the coolness with which they continued to occupy their lands that had been forfeited or leased by royal charter to rival clans, the readiness with which the king so often hastened to conciliate them by granting pardons or reestablishing them in their possessions, is overwhelming evidence of the amazing power and influence exercised by these northern chiefs.

In March, 1539, Alexander, his wife Margaret, and his male heirs were granted a Crown charter of the lands of Glengarry and Morar, with the castle, fortalice and manor of Strome, also half of Lochabar and Lochbroom.¹⁵ A little later in that same year, he was again at variance with the government for participating in a brief but unsuccessful revolt raised by Donald Gorme of Sleat. Repentant, he appeared before the king who had anchored with a fleet in the waters of Skye. Instead of being given a pardon he was made a prisoner and taken to Edinburgh. Portions of his lands were granted to the Mackenzies whose rise to power dates from the declining fortunes of the Clan Donald. Alexander was not liberated until 1542. Revolt seems to have been an obsession with this chief of Glengarry for soon after his release from prison he supported John Moydartach, chief of Clanranald, in his struggle against his rival Ranald Gallda who was championed by Lord Lovat. This resulted in the famous battle of Blar-nan-leine, July 15, 1544.* Afterwards, Alexander and his son Angus, together with other Island chieftains, plundered the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, even gaining possession of the castle.¹⁶ “They swept the land of every hoof and article of food or furniture which they could find.”¹⁷ To indemnify the Grants for the loss they sustained by these depredations “a Crown grant in life-rent of all the lands of Glengarry, both in Ross and Inverness” was given the Grants of Freuchie.¹⁸ However, the chief of Glengarry, treating with indifference and even defiance not only the transfer of his property to another, but all government threats and demands, continued to occupy his possessions un-

*See Fraser's *Lords of Lovat*.

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molested. The part he took in aiding Donald Dubb, grandson of John of Isla, to secure the lordship of the Isles for himself resulted in a summons for treason in 1545. But again the government made no attempt to enforce this order. In fact, realizing the hopelessness of its position, a full pardon was granted in 1548 to Alexander of Glengarry and other Highland chiefs.¹⁹ In 1560 death put an end to Alexander's lawless career. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh,²⁰ nephew of John, the last Lord of the Isles.*

The successor to Alexander's title and estates was his son—²¹

Angus or Aenas Macdonald, 5th of Glengarry, who succeeded in obtaining a legal title to his lands by entering into a matrimonial contract with the Laird of Grant by which the latter's daughter was to marry Angus' son, Donald.²² In return Grant agreed to withdraw all claims that he might have been given by the Crown to property in Glengarry's territory. This act was confirmed by the king.

In 1574 Angus received a commission enabling him to hold courts and administer justice within his own domains,²³ but he had only a brief opportunity to exercise this prerogative as his death occurred the latter part of this same year. His third wife Mary, daughter of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail,²⁴† married for her second husband Alexander Chisholm, XIV of Comar.‡

Angus by his wife, Mary, had a daughter—²⁵

Elizabeth Macdonald, who married John Roy Mackenzie of Gairloch.²⁶§ Their granddaughter married, in 1639, Alexander Chisholm, XVII of Comar, a grandson of Alexander Chisholm, XIV of Comar.

* See Clan Chart C.

† See Clan Chart B.

‡ See Clan Chart A.

§ See Clan Chart B^a.

NOTE: The preceding brief account of the Macdonalds of Glengarry is based on the

authority of MacVuirick's *Clanranald*; Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*; Macdonald's *Clan Donald*; Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*; Mackay's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*; and *Chiefs of Grant*.



The Macdonalds of Moidart—Clanranald



THE Clanranald was one of the most important and distinguished branches of the Macdonalds. The founder of this family was—

Reginald or Ranald, 1st of Moidart, who was a man of great integrity and honor. He was the eldest son of John, Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amy MacRuarie.^{1*}

King Robert II had persuaded John of Isla to make the children of his two marriages—first with Amy MacRuarie; second with Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of the king—feudally independent of each other and to this end King Robert granted John charters of certain lands destined to be inherited by the children of his second marriage; while in 1372-73 the king confirmed John's grants of Garmorran, part of Lochabar and Uist to Reginald, son of his first marriage.² These lands for the most part were held by John in right of his wife Amy.

In consideration of these grants, Reginald, who seems to have lacked the spirit of his maternal ancestor, Roderick of Bute, gave up all claim to the lordship of the Isles in favor of his younger half brother Donald for whom he acted as tutor or guardian: and when Donald reached his majority he readily delivered over to him the government of the Isles. According to MacVuirich, the family Seanachie, Reginald, during his father's lifetime held the important office of High Steward of the Isles. Being a man of quiet disposition, his name appears neither as a statesman nor a soldier of note in the records of his country but, like all the Macdonalds, his generous contributions to the church are outstanding.

He is said to have married a daughter of Walter Stewart, Earl of Atholl, but this marriage is emphatically denied in the *Scots Peerage*. His son became the founder of the Macdonalds of Glengarry.† Reginald died at Castle Tirrim in 1389 and was buried at Rollaig Orain.³ Although on his death his brother Gregory seized for a time the MacRuarie lands, his successor and heir was his son—⁴

Allen Macranald, 2nd of Moidart, who is supposed, as chief of the Clan-

* See Clan Chart C.

† See Clan Chart C.

The Clan Chisholm

ranald, to have come into possession of a large part of his patrimony after the execution of his cousin Alexander MacGorrie by James I at Inverness. MacKenzie describes him as having fought bravely at the battle of Harlaw in 1411; but after that there is little positively known about his career. He is said to have married a daughter of John, the last Lord of Lorn,⁵ and to have died at Castle Tirrim, being buried at Rollaig Orain. The exact date of his death is unknown but it must have occurred before 1430. He was succeeded by his eldest son—⁶

Roderick, 3rd of Moidart, known as Ruarie MacAlain. He is described as a man of outstanding ability who in very early life became distinguished for his valor and daring. He supported his relative Alexander, Lord of the Isles, in all his contentions with the Crown and joined him in his expedition against Inverness. He was among the first to join the standard of his father-in-law, Donald Balloch of Dunnyveg, and with him won distinction in the battle of Inverlochy where, in 1431, the royal forces suffered defeat. Roderick married Margaret, daughter of the famous Donald Balloch.⁷ His daughter Margaret married Alexander "Ionraic" Mackenzie, VI of Kintail.* He died between 1470 and 1480, and was succeeded by his son—⁸

Allen, 4th of Moidart, called Allen MacRuarie, or MacRory. Rev. A. Macdonald refers to him as "a great hero" and declares that "there are few names better known in the traditions of the clan than 'the mighty-deeded Allen.' " He ranged himself on the side of Sir Alexander of Lochalsh in the latter's struggle to win back the earldom of Ross to which he considered himself heir presumptive. He accompanied Sir Alexander on his raiding expedition from Badenoch to Inverness and was with him when he was defeated by the Mackenzies at the battle of Park.

Allen was one of the most zealous champions of the Earl of Ross in his disputes with the Mackenzies. He made several raids into Kintail "ravaging the country and carrying off many head of cattle." The king in an attempt to check further discord between the northern clans visited the Highlands and "the Chief of Clanranald was among the few chiefs to render him homage."⁹ After that his relations with the government continued peaceful and loyal, but soon trouble developed in his own immediate family. It is reported that his younger brother seized his estate of Moidart which he was

*See Clan Chart B.

The Macdonalds of Moidart—Clanranald

unable to recover without assistance. The interesting and somewhat romantic story connected with this incident is to be found in the Earl of Cromartie's MS. History of the Mackenzies and is supported by Mackenzie in his *History of the Macdonalds*. It relates how Allen's relatives, whom he had aided, proving unsympathetic, he bethought himself of the novel device of offering his friendship to his enemy, Alexander Mackenzie, VI of Kintail, in exchange for help. Acting upon this plan he forthwith personally appeared before the astonished chief of Kintail and, after stating that he had been robbed by his brother and deserted by his friends, he further announced that he had decided to apply to his "greatest enemy" who perhaps might, in return for supporting his cause, "gain as faithful a friend as he (Allen) had previously been his diligent adversary." Alexander, moved both by sympathy and the novelty of Allen's plea, went in person with an ample force and succeeded in restoring to Allen his rightful possessions. Immediately the opposing party complained to the king that Mackenzie had been a disturber of the peace by invading their territory. Alexander was summoned to appear before the king, but Allen, grateful for the support given him, "went to Holyrood House . . . and did truly relate how his and Mackenzie's affairs stood, showing that he, as being the occasion of it, was ready to suffer what law would exact rather than expose so generous a friend to any hazard." The king, impressed by their reciprocal heroism, readily pardoned both offenders and confirmed Allen in his lands of Moidart.¹⁰ It was probably after this event that the marriage of Allen's sister Margaret to Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail took place, thus making a happy and romantic conclusion to the story. Although the compilers of *Clan Donald* acknowledge this marriage, they are somewhat inclined to discredit the accuracy of the rest of the story claiming it was told "to glorify the Mackenzies."

Another anecdote, vouched by Mackenzie, concerns Allen's feud with Mackintosh. It seems the chief of Mackintosh built himself a castle on an island in Loch Moy and on its completion invited all his friends and vassals to partake of a banquet at which was an Irish harper. At the close of the meal Mackintosh rose from the table and "expressed his happiness at being now, for the first day in his life, free from the dread of Allen MacRory." Through the Irish harper his remark reached the ears of Allen who immediately summoned his vassals and, traveling by night, reached Loch Moy. He

The Clan Chisholm

carried with him several boats made of hides; these he launched under the cover of darkness, stormed the castle and, capturing Mackintosh in his bed, held him prisoner for a year and a day. When he released the chief, he advised him "never to be free from the fear of a Macdonald."

The following taken from the *History of Clanranald*, pages 82-84, gives an illustration of Allen's resourcefulness in a tight place: "Having occasion to visit his possessions in the islands, Allen started out with only one vessel. At this time he was on the very worst terms with Maclean, chief of that clan, whom he now observed approaching with a fleet of ten sail, and seeing no possibility of escape, he ordered his men to stretch him out as a corpse and directed them to bear down without any concern towards Maclean's squadron. On reaching it, his men communicated the melancholy tidings of the death of their chief, whom, they stated, they were conveying to be interred in Iona. They were allowed to pass; but before Maclean's return, Allen had over-run a great part of the former's land and carried away the most valuable of his effects to Castle Tirrim."

According to Gregory in his *History of the Highlands and Isles* and quoted by Mackenzie, Allen MacRuarie's somewhat romantic career came to a tragic end. For some cause, supposed to have been the part he took in the raid upon Atholl, he was tried and executed in 1509, before King James IV at Blair Atholl, where he was buried. With the exception of the manner of his death MacVuirich's account agrees with Gregory's but the authors of the *History of Clanranald* refute the implication that Allen was executed and record the date of his death as sometime previous to 1503, "in which year a letter by the Council is addressed to his son, Ranald, as Chief of Clanranald."¹¹ In summing up the character of Allen some historians represent him as a "bold and reckless plunderer . . . who feared neither God nor man." In the pages of *Clan Donald* he is treated more charitably as the following quotation will show: "Holding his lands at the point of his sword, he must use it well, surrounded as he was by powerful chiefs, each of whom was ready to pounce upon his neighbor. . . . Judging Allen by the standard of his time, we find in him a bold and resolute chief, a capable and fearless leader of men, and one who was far above his contemporaries in those qualities that alone constitute true strength."

The Macdonalds of Moidart—Clanranald

Allen married first Florence, daughter of Donald Macdonald of Ardnamurchan,¹² by whom he had a son—¹³

Ranald Ban Allenson, 5th of Moidart, who was held in such high favor at court that his aid was sought by the government in suppressing the rebellion of certain northern chiefs. As a reward for his services the king made him grants of land in Sleat and North Uist.¹⁴ His dauntless courage and other excellent qualities made him also very popular with his vassals.

Gregory and Mackenzie are of the opinion that, like his father, for some unrecorded crime he was tried before James IV and executed at Perth in 1513. At least this date of his death must be incorrect as in a bond between his son Dugal and the Earl of Huntly, dated March, 1510, Ranald is referred to as then dead.¹⁵

Ranald married, probably as his second wife, a daughter of Roderick Macleod of Lewis, surnamed The Black,¹⁶ by whom he had a daughter—¹⁷

Anne who married for her second husband, Hector Roy Mackenzie, 1st of Gairloch.*

*See The Mackenzie's of Gairloch. Also Clan Chart B^b.

NOTE: The foregoing article on the Macdonalds of Clanranald is based on the authority of MacVuirich's *History of Clanranald*; Skene's *Highlands of Scotland*;

Macdonald's *Clan Donald*; Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*; the Earl of Cromartie's MS. *History of the Mackenzies*; and Gregory's *History of the Highlands and Isles*.



The Macdonalds of Dunnyveg and the Glens



HE progenitor of this illustrious family, distinguished alike in the annals of Scotland and Ireland, was John Mor Tanistear, second son of John, Lord of the Isles by his marriage with Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert II, first of the Stewart kings of Scotland.^{1*} Although his elder brother Donàld was to succeed to the lordship of the Isles, John Mor was amply provided for out of the family inheritance as his father had granted to him lands in Isla with the Castle of Dunnyveg and portions of Kintyre, including the Castles of Dunverty and Saddell.²

John Mor—as did his father and brothers—favored an alliance with England with the hope of establishing the Isles and the west coast as an independent kingdom. In the interest of this policy he was frequently received at the English court. About 1400 he greatly added to his already extensive estates by his marriage with Marjory Bisset, the beautiful heiress to the Seven Lordships of the Glens in Antrim.³ She was the daughter of John Bisset, the fifth and last male descendant of the first of that name who settled in Ireland.† The Bissets were possessors of the Seven Lordships of the Glens and to this vast property Marjory was the sole heiress.⁴ Later John Mor possessed these domains by right of his wife and was styled Lord of Dunnyveg and the Glens.⁵

In the battle of Harlaw, 1411,‡ John Mor was placed in command of the lightest and nimblest men, either to assist the wings or the front lines. When these reserves were called into action they, with their leader John Mor, rendered brilliant and valiant service.⁶

Great as was the excitement and bitterness resulting from James I's act in causing the arrest of the turbulent chiefs at Inverness—referred to in the Lords of the Isles—the event which appears to have had the most effect in throwing the Highlands and Isles into confusion at this time was the slaying of John Mor Macdonald by James Campbell, who is said to have

*See Clan Chart C.

‡For details see Lords of the Isles.

†See Family of Bisset.

The Clan Chisholm

committed the foul deed at the instigation of the king. His death was encompassed in this manner: While Alexander, who had succeeded his father Donald as Lord of the Isles, was confined in Tantallon Castle, King James determined to weaken the power of the Island chiefs by offering to transfer to John Mor all the lands belonging to John's nephew Alexander of the Isles on condition that he would hold them of the Crown. This was only a trick of the king's to apprehend the Lord of Dunnyveg. With this purpose in view James sent a messenger, one James Campbell, to treat with John Mor. They met by appointment at a place called Ard Dubb, John Mor being accompanied by a small retinue while Campbell appeared with a large escort.

When informed of the king's intentions, John replied "that he did not know wherein his nephew had wronged the king, and Alexander, being deserving of his rights, he would not accept his lands nor serve for them until his nephew would be set at liberty." Thereupon Campbell declared John Mor a prisoner of the king. John resisted the arrest but was overpowered and killed.⁷ King James having thus aroused the indignation of many powerful clans repudiated the act and had Campbell executed to show his royal disfavor.

The death of John Mor, Lord of Dunnyveg, occurred in 1427. The successor to his titles and lands was his famous young son—⁸

Donald Balloch, Lord of Dunnyveg and the Glens, "a bold warrior, who proved himself, in the absence of his chief, a most capable leader of the clan."⁹ Though scarcely over eighteen years of age, he determined to avenge the honor of the Macdonalds and the murder of his father. The spirit of clanship could not brook the affront of having a kinsman, Alexander of the Isles, held in durance for a second time.*

Spurred by the hope of blotting out this indignity, Donald Balloch in 1431, with a small army of picked men, mostly gentlemen and freeholders, together with a contingent from the glens of Antrim, engaged in battle a far superior force under the Earls of Mar and Caithness, at a place near the Castle of Inverlochy. With the king's forces was Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat.† "The lowland knights, who had plumed themselves on the superior armour and discipline of their men, soon found that even this was of no

* See Lords of the Isles.

† See Frasers of Lovat.

The Macdonalds of Dunnyveg

avail against the furious onset of their Highland foes, who wielded their broad-swords and Lochabar axes with all the skill and ferocity of Northern warfare.”¹⁰

Donald won for himself lasting laurels for the skill and courage he displayed during this battle of Inverlochy in which he and his followers completely defeated the royal army and returned home laden with great quantities of spoils. The Earl of Caithness was killed and the Earl of Mar, severely wounded, wandered among the mountains and was only saved from starvation by a woman who gave him barley meal and water mixed in the heel of his shoe. For this he gave expression to his gratitude in the following familiar lines:

Hunger is a cook right good,
Woe to him that sneers at food—
Barley crowdie in my shoe,
The greatest food I ever knew.¹¹

To avenge the defeat at Inverlochy, King James led a large force in person as far north as Dunstaffnage; but Donald, after the dispersion of his army, betook himself to the Glens of Antrim in Ireland that he had inherited from his mother, Marjory Bisset. The king issued an order to Hugh Buy O'Neill, an Irish chief of Ulster, to seize the person of Donald Balloch, dead or alive. Not long afterwards King James received what was believed to be the head of Donald, “. . . but,” to quote from Hill's *Macdonells of Antrim*, “as Donald Balloch certainly survived King James for many years, it is obvious that the sending of the head to Edinburgh was a stratagem devised by the crafty Islander in order to check further pursuit.” At all events Donald not only retained possession of his own head but “at the time of this other head's transmission to Scotland, he was actually paying his addresses to Conn O'Neill's daughter—granddaughter of Hugh Buy O'Neill—whom he soon afterwards married and through whose powerful connections he was restored to his estates in Isla and Cantire.”

It was this same Lord of Dunnyveg who, during the minority of his kinsman John, Lord of the Isles, acted as the guardian and counsellor of the latter. Together they entered into an alliance with the Earls of Douglas and Crawford against the Scottish government. They raised the standard of rebellion in the north, Donald, on account of the Earl of Ross's youth,

The Clan Chisholm

taking actual command. The Castles of Inverness and Urquhart were taken while the Castle of Ruthven in Badenoch was demolished. The failure of the enterprise was due largely to the assassination of William, Earl of Douglas, by the king in a fit of passion. To the Lord of the Isles and his kinsman, Donald Balloch, a lenient government, following the usual custom when dealing with these Island chiefs, granted a special pardon for their offenses.

It was not long, however, before Donald, who appears ever ready to champion any wild scheme, was deep in another plot. This time he figures as one of the principal promoters of the league entered into between King Edward and the chiefs of the Islesmen, which was known as the Treaty of Ardhornish, February, 1462.¹² The object of this compact was a division of the Scottish kingdom north of the Forth between the Earl of Ross and the Lord of Dunnyveg, the former to be proclaimed sovereign of the north. An interesting incident relative to this uprising and connected with Donald's invasion of the country of Atholl is given in the Appendix.

Lacking the expected support of the English, the plot failed and Donald retreated to the protection of the wooded glens of Antrim. By 1476 certain public records disclose the fact that he had again returned to Isla where he died during that year on an island in Loch Grunard at an advanced age.¹³ Rev. Archibald Macdonald pays him the following tribute: "In Donald Balloch died the foremost Clan Donald warrior of his time."¹⁴ By his wife, the daughter of Conn O'Neill, he had a daughter—¹⁵

Margaret, who married Roderick Macdonald, son of Allen MacRanald of Clanranald.*

* See Clan Chart C^b.

NOTE: The preceding sketch is based on the authority of Gregory's *Western Highlands and the Isles*; Hill's *Historical Ac-*

count of the Macdonells of Antrim; Macdonald's *Clan Donald*; Tytler's *Scotland*; and Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*.

The MacRuaries of Garmorran



RODERICK or *Ruarie*, founder of the family of Garmorran, was the second son of Reginald of Isla, Lord of the Isles.¹ He inherited from his father the Island of Bute and other lands in Kintyre. Angus, one of the sons of Somerled, had been Lord of Bute and on the marriage of his granddaughter Jane (daughter of his son James) to Alexander, son of Walter, the High Steward,* Alexander claimed the island in right of his wife. This claim was resisted by Roderick until the dispute was temporarily settled by his expulsion from Bute.

Besides Bute, Roderick possessed the lordship of Garmorran in the north and lands in North Kintyre. Having inherited the seafaring instincts of his Norwegian ancestors he became "a wild and restless man." Some historians even describe him as "a desperate pirate whose predatory expeditions fill the annals of the period."² In 1212, at the head of a large force, he landed in Ireland where he ravaged and plundered several towns including Derry; while the next year he repeated his visit to the north of Ireland and pillaged even the churches of that district.³ Possibly in atonement for this sacrilege, he contributed liberally to the abbey of Saddell and the church of St. John in Kintyre.

Roderick and his brother Donald opposed every effort of Alexander II to annex to the Scottish Crown such island possessions as were held of the Norwegian king. During his absence on an expedition to the Isle of Man the Scots invaded Bute and took possession of it in the name of Jane, wife of Alexander Stewart. Failing at first to recover the island, Roderick decided to appeal to King Haakon to aid him in checking the frequent depredations made by the Earl of Ross and the Scottish party on his northern possessions. Haakon readily complied and in 1263 set sail for the Isles with a large fleet, a part of which was under the command of Roderick and his two sons, Dugall and Allen. The expedition was successful and to Roderick was restored Bute. No sooner had he been reinstated than he began to pillage and lay waste the mainland in revenge for what he considered the Stewarts'

*See Chart V.

The Clan Chisholm

usurpation of his domains. His occupation of Bute was of short duration for after the Scottish victory at Largs, Bute again reverted to the Stewarts.

It is supposed that Roderick's death occurred soon after this. He left two sons, Dugall said to be the progenitor of the Macdugalls,⁴ Celtic Lords of Lorn,* and—

Allen MacRuarie, who succeeded his father in the lands of Garmorran.⁵ In 1263 he headed one of King Haakon's parties, sailing up Loch Lomond, pillaging the surrounding country, and massacring the inhabitants. After the Scots-Norse treaty, Allen became a loyal subject of Alexander III, who not only confirmed him in his paternal possessions but also gave him other extensive grants of land. In 1284 he was one of the three Highland chiefs who were present when the Scottish Estates proclaimed Margaret of Norway heiress to the throne of Scotland.

Allen died about 1285. He evidently left no legitimate male issue as his estates were inherited by his only daughter—

Christina,⁶ who became the progenitor of a long line of Scottish kings. She married Donald, Earl of Mar.† Their daughter Lady Isabel married King Robert Bruce. It is said that it was Christina who sent provisions to her son-in-law Bruce while he was hiding on the Isle of Rachlin and it was her galleys, under the command of her half-brother Roderick, that conveyed him and his followers from the island to the coast of Aran.⁷

Allen MacRuarie had a natural son—⁸

Roderick, who some authorities claim might possibly have been a son of Allen's by a "handfast marriage." However, through resignation, his half-sister Christina confirmed to Roderick "his patrimonial rights whereby he became feudally capable of succession"⁹ and of holding the position of chief of the MacRuaries.

Roderick, like his grandfather Roderick of Bute, was possessed of a turbulent, warlike spirit and soon became involved in a quarrel with his kinsman, Alexander of Isla. He invaded Skye and Lewis and "burnt all the ships in the English service in the Western seas."‡ Finally he was taken prisoner by the Lord of the Isles and confined in a dungeon. How long he remained there is uncertain but he next appears as a loyal supporter of Bruce

* See Chart V^b.

‡ Macdonald's *Clan Donald*.

† See Chart III^a.

The MacRuaries of Garmorran

under whose banner he gallantly fought at Bannockburn with the island contingent led by Alexander of Isla.

For his services he was rewarded with generous grants of land by his grateful king. Afterwards he gave loyal support to the Scottish Crown for a number of years, but in 1325 he committed an offense against the Government of so serious but unrecorded a nature that his estates were forfeited.¹⁰ It has been suggested that the forfeiture was the result of his participation in the Soulis conspiracy of 1320.

Roderick died about 1329 and his lands were restored to his son Ranald, who in 1346 was murdered by the Earl of Ross in the monastery of Elcho. Ranald, leaving no male heirs, his estates passed to his sister—

Amy (or Amie) MacRuarie, the only daughter of Roderick of Garmorran.¹¹ She is said to have been a gentle, charitable lady with a strongly religious nature; “and her memory is still held in sweet reverence on the west mainland.” She married, as his first wife, John, Lord of the Isles,¹² to whom she carried the MacRuarie property which he in turn granted by charter to their eldest son Reginald.* Amy is said to have built Castle Tirrim in Moirdart and in Benbecula, Borge Castle and the parish church of St. Columba. She repaired and enlarged Trinity Temple in North Uist¹³ and otherwise contributed liberally to the Church. She was divorced by John of Isla in order that he might marry Lady Margaret Stewart.† The eldest son of Amy and John, Lord of the Isles, was—¹⁴

Reginald or Ranald, who became the progenitor of the powerful house of Clanranald.‡

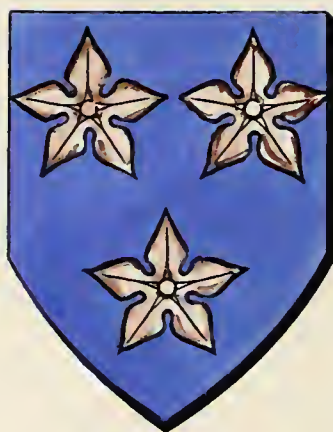
* See Clanranald.

† See Lords of the Isles.

‡ See Macdonalds of Clanranald.

NOTE: The above outline of the MacRuaries is based largely on the authority

of Skene's *Celtic Highlands*; Gregory's *Western Highlands and Isles*; Macdonald's *Clan Donald*; Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*; and Keltie's *History of the Highlands*.



The Family of Fraser



It is generally conceded that the Frasers, like the Bissets, Chisholms, and Sinclairs were of French or Norman extraction although James Logan in his *Clans of the Scottish Highlands* makes a fanciful attempt, as he did in the case of the Chisholms, to create for them a Celtic background; but the fact that they were “constantly designated by their surnames at a period when patronymics only were used by Celts, Saxons, Scots, and Anglo-Danes” is a major proof of their Norman-French ancestry. Yet neither the origin of their name nor whether they came over with William the Conqueror or later has been definitely determined.

James Fraser, in what is known as the Wardlaw MS., page 31, offers the following somewhat ingenious explanation of the source of the name Fraser: “It seems that Charles the Simple, while at Auverc near Bourbon, was served with ‘curious sallats and fruited’ by Julius de Berry, a gentleman living there. The chief dish was fresh strawberries which so delighted the King and Cardinal Mont Alto, his guest, that he knighted the said Julius before his nobles and Court, changing his surname from Berry to Fraise (strawberry). Later it became Fraser. ‘The king gave them three Fraizes, or stalked strawberries for their arms.’ ”

The Frasers were found in England from the latter part of the twelfth century onwards. At this time “two knights of Henry II’s household, whose names were Robert Puer and Radulphus Fraser, were captured by the Court of St. Giles while returning from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James. They were released because of the large ransom the prisoners were able to pay him.”¹ In the Wardlaw MS. is the statement that three brothers by the name of Fraser came to the court of King Malcolm III; they were called John, Alexander, and Francis.

The first of the name to appear in the records of Scotland is—

Simon Fraser, who, in 1160, granted the church of Keith with the lands adjoining, to the monks of Kelso. Simon’s line ended with a daughter Eda,

The Clan Chisholm

whose daughter by the same name married Philip de Keith and this Fraser's possessions passed to the Keiths.*

The name of *Kylvert Fraser*—Anderson calls him Gilbert Fraser—appears among the early Scottish charters. His son Oliver, who died without issue, built Oliver Castle towards the end of the twelfth century.² His daughter married—³

Udard Fraser of East Lothian, of whom little is known. Their son—⁴

Sir Gilbert Fraser was sheriff of Traquair and was knighted before 1259, for in that year an assize was held in the court of "Gilbertus Fraser miles, vicecomes de Peebles."⁵ He died about 1263. By his wife Christiana he had a son—⁶

Simon Fraser of *Oliver Castle*, of whom more later. Sir Gilbert's son John,⁷ who died before 1263, was succeeded by his son Sir Richard of Touch-Fraser, sheriff of Sterling. According to the *Scots Peerage* and Lord Saltoun, Sir Richard "Presumably had a son"—

Sir Andrew Fraser, sheriff of Sterling.⁸ If he were not Sir Richard's son he was a very close relative, as Sir Andrew's son Alexander was Sir Richard's successor in the lands of Touch-Fraser.⁹ Anderson, Mackenzie and others state that Sir Andrew Fraser was another son of Sir Gilbert, sheriff of Traquair, and his, Andrew's, son Alexander succeeded to the estates of his cousin Sir Richard who died before 1321. This seems the more reasonable conclusion as otherwise Sir Andrew, who died in 1297, would have been the great-grandson of Sir Gilbert who died only a little more than thirty years before. Be that as it may, it is an established fact that Sir Andrew belonged to this prominent branch of the Frasers of Lothian. In 1291 Sir Andrew swore fealty to Edward I,¹⁰ but five years later he was made a prisoner by the English,¹¹ only to be released the following year in order that he might make preparations to accompany King Edward on his expedition to the continent.¹² In 1297 he received certain lands forfeited by Macduff;¹³ these, together with extensive possessions in Caithness, acquired by right of his wife Beatrix, who undoubtedly belonged to the family of Le Chen of Duffus,¹⁴ greatly increased his original landed wealth. He probably died in Flanders in 1297.¹⁵ His eldest son—¹⁶

Sir Alexander Fraser, inherited the sheriffship of Sterling and the pater-

*See Keiths, Marischals of Scotland.

The Family of Fraser

nal lands of Touch. He and his brother Simon appear "among the persons of quality" who repaired to the royal standard of Robert Bruce, both being present at the battle of Inverury, 1308.¹⁷ He also fought in the battle of Bannockburn where "he had the Honour to Signalise his Courage and Conduct."¹⁸ In 1318 Sir Alexander, who was knighted before 1316, sat as a baron in Parliament to settle the order of succession to the Crown.¹⁹ He was appointed to the distinguished office of Lord Chamberlain in 1319²⁰ and was one of the signers of the famous letter sent by the nobility to Pope John, April 6, 1320.* In recognition of his splendid services he received substantial favors from the king, among them being the grant of the land of Aboyne in Aberdeenshire;²¹ a royal charter of the forest of Craigie²² in favor of himself and his son John; and in 1316 the honor of the hand of Robert Bruce's sister, Princess Mary, widow of Sir Neil Campbell of Lochawe.²³ It will be remembered that after the fateful battle of Methven, Princess Mary fell into the enemy's hands and was put into a wooden cage shaped like a crown and suspended over the walls of Roxburgh Castle.²⁴ Sir Alexander Fraser was killed at the battle of Dupplin, August 3, 1332.²⁵ He was succeeded by his son—²⁶

John Fraser, who was only fifteen years of age at the time of his father's death. His own death occurred when he was still a very young man. He was survived by an only daughter and heiress—²⁷

Margaret Fraser. She married William de Keith, Marischal of Scotland,† who received through her right Touch-Fraser.²⁸ Their daughter Elizabeth Keith married first Sir Adam Gordon, Earl of Huntly,‡ on which account the Duke of Gordon quartered the Fraser arms with his own.

To return to Sir Andrew Fraser's son—²⁹

Simon Fraser, Sheriff of Kincardine,³⁰ who, inheriting his ancestor's dislike for the English disturbers of his country's peace, zealously attached himself to the cause of Scottish freedom and became an ardent supporter of Robert Bruce on his several campaigns. He took a prominent part in the battle of Bannockburn "where Sir Simon Fraser . . . chased the Englishmen for three days."³¹ He was present at the battle of Dupplin where his two brothers were killed. However, nothing daunted by this defeat, nor by the

* See Appendix.

‡ See Gordons, Earls of Huntly.

† See Family of Keith.

The Clan Chisholm

flight of his sovereign David II, Simon Fraser scorned submission and later distinguished himself as one of the commanders at the retaking of Perth, 1332.³² November 25, 1332, in conjunction with Archibald Douglas, Simon surprised and routed Edward Balliol at Annandale, the Pretender escaping half naked on horse-back.³³ At the famous battle of Halidon Hill, Simon and his brother Andrew were in the van of the king's army and they, together with many others representing the flower of the Scottish nobility including many a Chisholm ancestor, perished.³⁴

Simon Fraser married Margaret, daughter of Magnus, Earl of Orkney and Caithness.³⁵* On the death of the Earl, the last of his line, "Simon unsuccessfully contended the succession with the Earl of Stratherne."³⁶ It is through this marriage that Mackenzie accounts for the Frasers possessing Lovat.³⁷ His theory is not supported by other authorities. However, "the lands of Lovat, which lie in the county of Inverness, belonged during the first half of the thirteenth century to John Bisset who possessed the district of the Ard. About 1268 these lands were divided among three co-heiresses who were married respectively to Sir David de Graham, Sir William Fentoun, and Sir Andrew de Bosco."† Through marriage the Chisholms acquired a portion of the Ard and it is in like manner that Lord Saltoun conjectures that Lovat came into the family of the Frasers, attributing the possibility of marriage to a Bisset heiress to Hugh, as Hugh is the first Fraser to be designated "of Lovat."

The father of this Hugh Fraser, the next in this line to Simon, appears open to discussion although all authorities, including Anderson, Douglas, Macfarlane, Lord Saltoun, the Wardlaw MS., and the *Scots Peerage*, agree that he was descended from the above Simon Fraser. John Anderson, Mackenzie and Douglas unhesitatingly declare that Sir Simon was the father of Hugh, while Lord Saltoun considers him the grandfather, and Alexander, a supposed son of Sir Simon, his father. There seems to be no charter evidence for either claim except "in the year 1464, Lord Lovat made reciprocal entail with Alexander Fraser of Philorth in which each describes the other as his beloved cousin."³⁸ Nevertheless the successor to Sir Simon, as all agree, whether son or grandson, was—

Hugh Fraser of Lovat and Kinnell. That he was a cadet of the powerful

*See Chart XVIII.

†*History of the Beaulieu Priory*, Grampian Club.

The Family of Fraser

family of Frasers in the Lothians is evidenced by the fact that his seal bears three cinquefoils within a bordure charged with nine mullets.* On September 12, 1367 "Hugh Fraser, Dominus de Loveth et portionarius de le Ard" did homage at Elgin to Alexander, Bishop of Moray, for his part of the half davoch land of Kiltarlity and the land of Esse.³⁹ William de Fentoun, Lord of Beaully, and Alexander Chisholm seem to have been co-portioners of Ard and both did homage to the Bishop of Moray about the same time for their lands of Esse and Kiltarlity.⁴⁰

Hugh Fraser was constituted the king's lieutenant in the Highlands, 1374,⁴¹ and took part in the battle of Bealach-na-Broig. His daughter Agnes married Laclan Mackintosh, captain of clan Chattan,⁴² and their daughter Margaret became the wife of Thomas de Chisholme IX.† According to Douglas, Anderson and Mackenzie, Hugh Fraser married Isabel, daughter of Sir David Wemyss of Wemyss, but there seems to be no documentary proof of this marriage. These genealogists seem to have confused the first Hugh Fraser, with his son Hugh, who married for his second wife Isabel Wemyss. Hugh died about 1397 and was buried with great pomp at Beaully. His second son—⁴³

Hugh Fraser of Lovat succeeded as heir to his brother Alexander. In March, 1415-16 he married Janet, sister of William Fentoun, Lord of Fentoun. Their marriage contract is in the form of an indenture.⁴⁴ Janet died before 1429, on which date Hugh married Isabel, daughter of Sir John Wemyss of that ilk.⁴⁵ Through his first wife Hugh acquired Eskadale and other properties in the Strathglass. He was one of the hostages for King James I's ransom and was sheriff of Inverness in 1431. These were troublous times in the Highlands, but Hugh Fraser of Lovat, "by his authority and prudent conduct, not only protected his own vassals from encroachments of their neighbors, but, a more difficult task, kept them at peace among themselves."⁴⁶ He built the north work of the church of Beaully and the chapel of the Holy Cross. He likewise erected a famous cross at Wellhouse which was afterwards brought to Beaully.⁴⁷ In 1422 a contract was entered into between Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, and Hugh Fraser, whereby the said Hugh "obliges himself, that his son and heir shall marry a daughter of the Earl's by Isobell Innes, or failing that, that his heir should marry into

* Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, no. 1005.

† See Chisholm Chart A.

The Clan Chisholm

the Lord of Moray's family."⁴⁸ In consideration of this contemplated marriage, the earl granted Lovat the barony of Abertarff and the ward and relief of William of Fentoun, Lord of Baky, and of Alexander Chisholm, Lord of Kinrossie.⁴⁹ Hugh died before 1440. His son—⁵⁰

Thomas Fraser, Lord of Lovat—referred to as "Hugh" by Anderson—is designated Lord of Lovat when, on July 20, 1440, he witnessed a charter of Alexander of the Isles, Earl of Ross.⁵¹ He is supposed to have married a daughter of the Earl of Moray—Lady Janet is the name given by the Wardlaw MS. and in *Douglas Peerage*—but such a marriage has been clearly disapproved as there is no evidence that the earl had any family. The name of Thomas Fraser's wife is unknown. He died before May 20, 1455, when his son—⁵²

Hugh Fraser, 1st Lord Fraser of Lovat is styled "Huchone Fraser of Lovat."⁵³ He was a ward of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray and according to the Wardlaw MS. he was educated at the court of James II, who conferred upon him the Order of the Thistle. He was made a peer of Parliament between 1456 and 1464, apparently under the title of Lord Fraser of Lovat, as he is described in the royal confirmation of a charter as "Hugo dominus Fraser de Lovate et Baro Baronie de Kynnell."⁵⁴ It was to this Lord Lovat that Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, VII of Kintail, suddenly appeared accompanied by two hundred men and coolly demanded his lordship's daughter Agnes in marriage, a demand to which he wisely but reluctantly consented.⁵⁵ Later he sent Sir Andrew, his own chaplain, to Rome to procure from the Pope a bull to legitimize his daughter's marriage.* From this marriage of Agnes Fraser and Sir Kenneth descended Janet Mackenzie who married Alexander Chisholm XIV.†

Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, married Violetta Lyon, Maid of Honor to the Queen and daughter of the Lord of Glamis, Master of Horse to the King.⁵⁶‡ Hugh died before October, 1501, at his Castle of Lovat and was buried at Beaulieu. His son—⁵⁷

Thomas Fraser, 2nd Lord Fraser of Lovat, was a man of great courage and spirit, much in favor with James IV, who appointed him justiciar in the north. Among the many charters that he received was one of the lands and

* See the Clan Mackenzie.

‡ See Lords of Glamis.

† See Chisholm Chart A.

The Family of Fraser

Castle of Beaufort, October, 1509.⁵⁸ He was present at the marriage of King James IV to the English Princess Margaret, 1503. "Vast crowds of Highland retainers attended on the Court . . . and actually fought in real combat . . . with two-handed swords to the music of their bag-pipes, much to the admiration of the English and French who had never seen men so ambitious of wounds or so prodigal of their blood in sport."⁵⁹ "Convincing proof," comments Anderson, "how vulgar were the pleasures of even the most exalted society."

"For many years the Highland chiefs exercised an authority independent of the laws of the country. They held their own courts for the punishment of delinquents and appointed their own officers. In the neighborhood of Inverness is a singularly shaped mound of earth called Tomnahurich, on top of which it is said Sir Thomas was in the habit of dispensing justice. The following story taken from the Wardlaw MS. reflects the somewhat frugal nature of this wealthy Scottish gentleman. It seems that a fire broke out at Castle Lovat and Rory Mackenzie, a young nephew of Sir Thomas, rushing through the flames, rescued the valuable family charter chest, a curious table, and other fine things. As a reward for his bravery, his uncle thought it sufficient to recompense him "with a bonnet and a pair of shoes."

From the same source, the Wardlaw MS., is found the following tribute to Thomas, Lord Fraser: "He, Sir Thomas, lived long and happy; he never had occasion to try his sword, but he was wont to say that his heart and hand were as good mettall if put to the touch; an excellent country man. . . . He kept his nighboures right, and they him, being the file of his fortunes; . . . and augmented what his ancestors left him; a wholsom strong bodied, statly person."

Before he succeeded to the Lovat estates, Sir Thomas married Janet Gordon, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Abergeldie, or Midmar,* a brother to George, Earl of Huntly.⁶⁰ Janet's mother was Beatrice Hay, daughter of William, Earl of Errol.⁶¹ Sir Thomas died at Beaufort Castle October 21, 1524.⁶² By his marriage with Janet Gordon he had a son—⁶³

William Fraser of Teachor, who was the progenitor of the Frasers of Culbokie. Margaret, daughter of William Fraser of Culbokie, married Theodore Chisholm, son of Alexander Chisholm XIX.⁶⁴†

*See Chart XVI.

†See Chisholm Chart A.

The Clan Chisholm

James Fraser of Foyness—referred to in Crown charters “of Culboky” was the third son of Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat.⁶⁵ He received from the king in life-rent certain lands in the county of Ross and Inverness-shire for “good service rendered.”⁶⁶ He fell, together with many of his clansmen in the bloody battle of Loch Lochy, or Blar-nan-leine, the Battle of the Shirts, 1544,⁶⁷ leaving an only daughter Agnes, or Janet, who married John Glassich Mackenzie, Laird of Gairloch,* whose great-granddaughter married Alexander Chisholm XVII. This same Janet Fraser married for her second husband Thomas Chisholm XV. They had no male issue.

Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat, was succeeded by his eldest son—⁶⁸

Hugh Fraser, 3rd Lord Fraser of Lovat, who was born in March, 1489. His baptismal name was Maurice, as his mother was told in a dream by St. Mauritius that she would bear a son “who would prove famous and a man of singular manhood and authority.”⁶⁹ Sir Hugh greatly increased his family estates and on account of the turbulent nature of the times received permission from the king to build on the barony of Arcles a fortified house with iron doors, dungeons, etc. He established the Cross Fair at Beaully and arranged through an act of Parliament for a weekly fair there. It is recorded that his retinue, when he went to proclaim the fair, was very numerous. On one occasion, James Fraser relates, he had in his train three lords and six barons with all their followers in full armor.

Lord Hugh was devoted to field sports and took pleasure in training his men to the exact use of the sword and bow; his own prowess in the use of these weapons made him the terror of his unruly neighbors. He was commissioned a lieutenant of the north.⁷⁰ Later this position of distinction, claim Buchanan and the compiler of the Wardlaw MS., won for him the enmity of George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, known as the “Cock of the North”; but the author of the *History of the Sutherlands* and Anderson in his account of the Frasers exonerate Gordon from all complicity in the outrage that cost Sir Hugh his life.

It seems that when the Lord of Lovat was returning from an official visit to the different clans, he fell into an ambush prepared for him by the Macranalds and some of their allies. Lovat was accompanied by a body of “valiant and resolute men, most of them the flower of the gentry of his own

* *The Scots Peerage*, vol. V.

The Family of Fraser

name." Warned of the Macranald plot he, however, deemed it an act of cowardice to change his course. At the end of Loch Lochy the enemy, by whom he was greatly outnumbered, fell upon him. A hot engagement ensued. They "fought more like lyons than men; their arms, two handed swords, and Dence axes. . . . They seemed to fell one another like trees falling in the wood. At length, in their heat and fury, two and two, they ran into the loch, grapling lik wrestlers, sticked on with their durks; many, nay, most fought in their shirts."⁷¹ From this fact, the battle is often known as Blarnan-leine, or the Battle of the Shirts. Lord Lovat fought so fiercely and bravely, hammering down all that came his way, that he was named by his enemies "Crucy Choskir," the hard slayer. During the battle the Master of Lovat, urged by the jealousy of his step-mother, Lady Janet Ross, joined his father and with him was killed. They were buried together at Beauuly. The inscription on the slab that marks the grave of father and son was visible until 1746. It read: *Hic Jacet Hugo Dominus Fraser de Lovat, qui fortissime pugnaus contra Reginalderios occubuit Julie 15, 1544.*⁷² A picture of this "slab" is given on another page.

This battle, one of the fiercest ever fought on Scottish soil, was sometimes called "Blair Lochy," because for days after the fight the stream from the lake ran blood. The loss sustained by the Frasers was such as to threaten a total annihilation of the name, only four Frasers having escaped; but this misfortune was averted by an almost miraculous circumstance for it appears, according to the family writers, that sons were soon born to eighty of the wives of the Frasers who lost their lives in this battle.

Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, who met his death July 15, 1544, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, is thus described by the author of the Wardlaw MS., page 140: "This great and good man, Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat, is now off the stage, gathered to his fathers—his worth and virtues truely such that he was very much lamented even by his enemies, for, besides the splendor of his ancestry, and the statliness, and comliness of his personage, he was master of a great deal of wit and singular prudence, providence, and proveesse in very troublesom times. His authority and conduct in his great trust reacht farr, his intelligence farr and neare wonderfull, nor could surprise his country without an allarum; he could read men as bookes, could not abid baseness; had a great esteem for men of integrity and spirit, though

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never so mean, being himself a man of undoubted valour and courage.”

Sir Hugh married for his second wife Janet Ross, daughter of Walter Ross of Balnagown.⁷³ His second son by Lady Janet was—⁷⁴

William Fraser, or Andrew, as he is sometimes called. He was made tutor of Lovat and married, in 1561, Janet, daughter of John Grant of Freuchie.⁷⁵ When Queen Mary, in May, 1562, made her famous visit to Inverness, William, the tutor of Lovat, with four hundred men went to that town to wait upon the queen's service, while the dowager lady of Lovat and the tutor's lady were among the great Highland ladies in attendance upon her Majesty. So states the writer of the Wardlaw MS. From William Fraser are descended the Frasers of Struy.⁷⁶ His second son, Thomas, was 1st Laird of Eskadale. The daughter of Alexander Fraser, 6th of Eskadale, married Archibald Chisholm of Fasnakyle, son of Colin Chisholm, 1 of Knockfin.^{77*}

And now to return to Sir Simon Fraser, son of Sir Gilbert Fraser, the fourth of that name mentioned in this sketch.

Sir Simon Fraser, son of Sir Gilbert Fraser, sheriff of Tarquair,⁷⁸ is said to have accompanied King Alexander II on a pilgrimage to Iona, and later to have witnessed the coronation of his son Alexander III.⁷⁹ He was in high favor with his sovereign who knighted him before 1249⁸⁰ and conferred on him the office of high sheriff of the county of Tweeddale.⁸¹ He made generous donations to the monks of Melrose and steadily grew in power and affluence possessing, among others, the lands of Oliver Castle and Need-path. He was succeeded by his son—⁸²

Sir Simon Fraser, who was “knighted about 1288, before which date the suffix ‘miles’ is always wanting, thus distinguishing him from his father.”⁸³ In 1279 he held the office of justice-itinerant. He was one of the Scottish Magnates who, in a Parliament at Scone, 1283, acknowledged Margaret, Maid of Norway, as successor to the throne of Scotland.⁸⁴ He swore fealty to King Edward I at Norham, 1296⁸⁵ and was one of the arbiters appointed by Balliol for determining the right of the several competitors for the Scottish crown in 1291.⁸⁶ His wife's name was Maria. Sir Simon died in 1291, leaving as his successor his eldest son—⁸⁷

Sir Simon Fraser, called the Patriot on account of his unswerving fidelity to his country together with his valor on the field of battle. The term “the

*See Chisholm Chart A^a.

The Family of Fraser

flower of chivalry" has also been applied to him. "He was one of the most distinguished statesmen and gallant soldiers during a struggle when it required all the wisdom and all the valour of Scotland to preserve her independence."⁸⁸ He fought at the battle of Dunbar, April 27, 1296, and was later taken captive into England. There he entered upon an agreement to fight with the English king against France and served with King Edward in 1300, being present at the siege of Carlaverock Castle. Before October of that same year he was made keeper of the forest of Tarquair.

Resisting the pretensions of King Edward to Scottish dominion, he gave able support to Sir William in his struggle for independence. In 1303 he had been raised to the command of the Scots army.⁸⁹ At Roslin, February 24, 1303, the Scots under the command of Sir Simon Fraser and Sir John Comyn gained a brilliant victory over a far superior English force.⁹⁰ In May of that year King Edward successfully invaded Scotland at which time Urquhart and Beaufort Castles were demolished.* Although many of the Scottish nobles to save themselves announced their fealty to the English king, Sir Simon and his co-patriot Wallace remained steadfast in their opposition to the invaders. After the betrayal and execution of Wallace, Sir Simon became one of Robert Bruce's most loyal supporters. It is stated that during the disastrous battle of Methven, June 19, 1306, Bruce "was thrice dismounted and as often replaced by the unexampled gallantry of Sir Simon Fraser,"⁹¹ who at the close of the engagement was taken prisoner and sent to London where he was executed, September 8, 1306, "under circumstances of horrible barbarity."⁹² His head was exposed on London Bridge as had been that of his friend Wallace the previous year.⁹³

Sir Simon left no male heirs. The younger of his two daughters, Joanna, married Sir Patrick Fleming of Wigtoun.⁹⁴†

*For the Frasers' Possession of Beaufort, see Appendix.

†See Family of Fleming.

NOTE: The preceding account of the Frasers is founded on the authority of *The Scots Peerage*; Burke's *Extinct Peerage*; Douglas' *Peerage*; *The Complete Peerage*; Lord Saltoun's *The Frasers of Phil-*

orth; John Anderson's *Historical Account of the Family of Fraser*; Crawford's *Officers of State*; Robertson's *Index*; The Wardlaw MS.; Mackenzie's *History of the Frasers*; Mackenzie's *History of the Chisholms*; Spaulding Club *Miscellany*, et al.



The Clan Mackintosh and Clan Chattan



HERE are two accounts of the origin and early history of the Clan Mackintosh: one by Dr. W. F. Skene in his *Highlands of Scotland*, 1837, in which they are derived from the Dalriadic kings; the other, a MS. history of the family, written in Latin by Laclan Mackintosh of Kinrara about 1679, which traces them back to the ancient Earls of Fife. The work of the latter is now generally accredited.

According to the MS. account, the earliest progenitor of the Mackintoshes was—

Shaw, second son of Duncan, 3rd (really the fourth) Earl of Fife. In 1163 he aided King Malcolm IV in suppressing a rebellion of the men of Moray and was appointed by the king, as a reward for his services, constable, or governor, of the royal Castle of Inverness. “While he dwelt there, he was commonly called by his neighbors, Shaw Mac-an-Toiseach, i.e. son of the Thane, thus giving name to the clan.” Skene claims “there were in reality no thanes of Fife” but Alexander Mackintosh Shaw in the *Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan* explains that “the author of the Kinrara MS. was under the impression, common to all writers of Scottish history from Fordun down to the early part of the nineteenth century, that ‘thane’ meant earl.” The original seat of the Mackintoshes was the district of Petty in the north-east corner of Inverness-shire. Shaw, who died in 1179, is said to have married Giles, daughter of Hugh Montgomery.¹ He was succeeded by his son—²

Shaw, 2nd of Mackintosh, who received a confirmation of his father’s grants and defended the Castle of Inverness against Donald of the Isles. For his services King William made him chamberlain, or steward, of the Crown revenues in Inverness. He married Mary, daughter of the Lord of Sandilands,³ and died in 1210, being succeeded by his eldest son Ferquhard as 3rd Laird of Mackintosh. Ferquhard died without male issue, and left as his heir to the chieftainship his nephew Shaw, son of—

William of Mackintosh, who was the son of Shaw, second Laird of Mackintosh. William was “a lovable man” and frequently at Court. He was of

The Clan Chisholm

the company of those who accompanied King Alexander to France, 1216. He married Beatrice Learmont of Fife⁴ by whom he had a son—⁵

Shaw, 4th of Mackintosh, who succeeded his uncle Ferquhard. He received extensive grants of land from Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and married Helena, daughter of the Thane of Calder.⁶ Dying in 1265, his eldest son—⁷

Ferquhard became 5th Laird of Mackintosh. He was more illustrious than his father and “excelled in every quality requisite in a gentleman.” He is referred to in the *Douglas Baronage* as “a man of great parts and remarkable fortitude.” Being a gallant and warlike youth he was chosen, during his father’s lifetime, leader of the Badenoch people in the expedition against the Norwegians which resulted in the battle of Largs, 1263, where he played a most valiant role. He was one of the principal leaders who were sent with the Earl of Atholl to reduce the Hebrides. On this journey he met Angus Mor Macdonald of Isla, whose daughter Mora he secretly courted. His clandestine visits being discovered, he fled to Ireland to escape the wrath of her powerful father. He was soon recalled and married the fair Mora.⁸ But his promising career was cut off in the very flower of his manhood as he lost his life in a duel resulting from a quarrel with a gentleman of the Isles with whom he had been playing chess.⁹ He died in 1274 and was succeeded by his young son—¹⁰

Angus, 6th of Mackintosh, who had been brought up by his uncle Alexander, Lord of Isla. In 1291-92 he married Eva,¹¹ only child of Dougal Phaol (or Dall), chief of the Clan Chattan* and son of Gillichattan, a descendant of Gillichattan Mor. Through his wife Angus came into possession of a considerable portion of the Clan Chattan estates in Lochabar “which in

*The first known head, or chief of Clan Chattan, according to Burke’s *Landed Gentry*, was Gillichattan, who, on account of his “immense stature, rare military genius and other accomplishments, acquired the designation of Moir, or Mor.” He lived in the reign of King Malcolm Canmore. His son, Diarmed, or Dormud, succeeded his father as captain of Clan Chattan and died about 1090. His son, Gillichattan, “was a considerable figure” in the

reign of David I. Gillichattan’s second son, Murdock, succeeded his brother who died without issue. Being a younger son, Murdock had been in the Church but on becoming head of his family he obtained a dispensation from the Pope in 1173 and married a daughter of the Thane of Calder. His grandson, Dougal Phaol, was captain of Clan Chattan and, dying, left an only daughter Eva, who married Angus Mackintosh.

The Clan Mackintosh and Clan Chattan

after years were the subject of long and fierce contention with the Camerons." He also received the hereditary chiefship and command of Clan Chattan. According to Fraser Mackintosh, in his *Antiquarian Notes*, "the royal gift of chieftainrie was granted by Robert II to Laclan Mackintosh, a grandson of Eva."

The MS. history describes Angus as "a man singularly bold, strong, and most patient of labor, cold, and hunger. . . . King Robert Bruce, on account of his fidelity, greatly loved him." He was one of the principal leaders under Randolph at the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, and is mentioned second in General Stewart's list of Highland chiefs present. He accompanied Randolph into England in the campaign of 1318-19 and was present at the battle near Swale, known as Chapter Minton, 1319. He was rewarded for his services by a grant of the lands of Banchar in Badenoch, the Comyns, who had taken over the Castle of Inverness, having been driven out by Bruce.

Angus died at a very advanced age in 1345 and was succeeded by his son—¹²

William, 7th of Mackintosh. "He was a robust man, tall above the common stature of people, and the first of his family to subscribe himself captain of Clan Chattan." He added to the ancient armorial bearings of the family "a long galley sable in the same field" for Clan Chattan. During his chiefship there began the long and sanguinary feud with the Camerons—the most cruel in Highland history—who had taken possession of his lands in Lochabar which Angus Mackintosh had acquired with his wife Eva, and which in his absence had been occupied by the Camerons. William fought several battles for the recovery of these lands for which he had a charter from the Lord of the Isles, confirmed by David II in 1357, but his efforts to dislodge the Camerons were unavailing.

William Mackintosh had had his taste of war previous to his father's death, as he had joined the forces of King David II in what is sometimes known as the second war for independence. He was present with his clan at the successful battle of Kilblene, and ten years later he took an active part in the disastrous battle of Durham, or Neville's Cross, October 17, 1346, where he was wounded and obliged to retire from further activities. He died in 1368 and, in accordance with his wish, was buried on the island in Loch Arkaig where, in fulfilment of a vow, he had spent Christmas for

The Clan Chisholm

several consecutive years on the top of Tirchionan to which John of Isla had given him a right which the Camerons disputed.

By his first wife Florence, daughter of the Thane of Calder,¹³ he had a son—¹⁴

Lachlan, 8th of Mackintosh, and captain of the Clan Chattan for nearly forty years. He is described in the MS. history as "robust and goggle-eyed." In 1370 the Camerons made a raid into Badenoch and started homeward with numerous heads of cattle and other valuable booty.¹⁵ Lachlan vigorously pursued them. His force was composed chiefly of two septs of the Clan Chattan, the Davidsons and the Macphersons, the latter considerably exceeding the rest in numbers. Just prior to their encounter with the Camerons at Invernahaven, a dispute arising between the respective leaders of the Macphersons and Davidsons as to who should command the right wing in the approaching battle, the matter was referred to Mackintosh, who rather injudiciously decided in favor of Davidson. Offended at this, the Macphersons withdrew from the field thus enabling the Camerons to secure a complete victory over the Mackintoshes.¹⁶ "But the Macphersons, generously remembering that the retreating forces were their brother clansmen, attacked the Camerons with such fury that the Clan Chattan defeat was turned into victory and their enemy put to flight."¹⁷ Bishop Donald Mackintosh in his version of the incident claims that a minstrel was sent by Mackintosh into Macpherson's camp who, feigning that he came from the Camerons, "sang some lines reflecting on the cowardice of those who hung back in the hour of danger." Enraged by this reflection on his courage by the Camerons, he attacked their camp and put them to rout, killing their leader. Some writers make this engagement the cause that led to the battle on the North Inch of Perth twenty-six years later.

This notable fight between the champions of two Highland clans occurred on the Inch, or Island of Perth, in the presence of King Robert III and the Scottish Court, 1396. It has been immortalized by Scott in the *Fair Maid of Perth*. In his preface to this novel, Sir Walter remarks, "The well authenticated fact of two powerful clans having deputed each thirty champions to fight out a quarrel of old standing in the presence of Robert III and the whole Court of Scotland . . . seems to mark with equal distinctness the rancour of these mountain feuds, and the degraded condition of the general

The Clan Mackintosh and Clan Chattan

government.” While the time and place of the combat is not questioned, the identity of the principals has long been a subject of dispute. However, Doctor Skene, Rev. A. M. Shaw and others of equal authority favor the opinion that the contending parties belonged to the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, the latter sustaining defeat.

Lachlan Mackintosh died in 1407, leaving by his wife Agnes, daughter of Hugh Fraser of Lovat,¹⁸ a son Ferquhard and a daughter—¹⁹

Margaret Mackintosh, who married Thomas de Chisholme IX, constable of Urquhart Castle, with issue.^{20*}

Lachlan Mackintosh, 8th, was succeeded by his son Ferquhard as 9th chief of Mackintosh. His position as head of the clan was brief, as, being unable to control his restless clansmen, he renounced his title in favor of his uncle—²¹

Malcolm, 10th of Mackintosh, who was the son of William, the 7th chief of the clan.²² According to the Kinrara MS. he was a man “of high towering spirit, but of middle stature; able to endure all extremities, hunger and lack of rest; fortunate in war, and accomplished in every way except in letters.” Because he was short of stature he was called “Beg.” At the battle of Harlaw, July, 1411, he commanded the left wing with great courage and success.

He lived to be almost a centenarian and from the numerous favors shown him by King James it is evident that he exercised considerable influence in the Highlands of value to the Crown.

He married Mora, daughter of Reginald Macdonald, first of Glengarry.²³ Shaw refers to Reginald as first of Clanranald. However, either is correct, as Reginald was really the original founder of these two different branches of the Clan Donald. Malcolm of Mackintosh died in 1457, leaving, besides Duncan his heir, a daughter—²⁴

Murial Mackintosh, who married John Mor Grant of Freuchie.^{25†}

* See Clan Chart A.

† See Grants of Freuchie. Also Clan Chart F.

NOTE: The above sketch is based on the authority of Alexander Mackintosh Shaw's *Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh*; Dr. W. F. Skene's *His-*

tory of the Highland Clans; Burke's *Landed Gentry*; MS. History of the Mackintoshes in Latin by Laclan Mackintosh of Kinrara; Keltie's *History of the Highlands*; Fraser Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*; Doctor Mackay's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, et al.



XIX

The Grants of Freuchie and Corriemony



RANT is among the prominent family names appearing in the genealogy of the Chisholms. The origin of the Grants, like many Highland families, "is lost in the mists of antiquity." Although the clan favor a Celtic origin, "as deriving the name Grant from a large moor called Grain-tach, or the plain of the sun," the author of the *Chiefs of Grant* would time their first entry into the Highlands as coincident with that of the Bissets. The name of Grant is found in De Magny's lists of the companions of William the Conqueror;¹ and it appears first in Scotland in Morayshire as early as 1258, when a Sir Laurence le Grant is mentioned in the records as sheriff of Inverness.²

"The first known territorial designation of the Grants was as Lords of Stratherrick, near Inverness, a lordship granted to Walter Byset before 1282. In 1357, Patrick Grant is mentioned as lord of this district. About the middle or end of the fifteenth century they acquired Freuchie and the title, Grants of Freuchie, continued until 1694, when Ludovick Freuchie, 'the Highland King,' adopted that of Grant of Grant." Notwithstanding the claim of the Chisholms to the exclusive right to the prefix "The," the chiefs of Grant are sometimes also referred to as "The Grant." The earliest authentic records of the family begin with—

John Roy Grant who was said to have been a knight and sheriff of Inverness in 1434.³ He married Matilda of Glencairnie, who was descended from Gilbert, seventh son of Gilbert, third Earl of Strathearn,⁴ who had received the lands of Glencairnie from his father before 1232. Matilda was the last representative of the earliest known Lairds of Glencairnie. The remains of the old castle are still visible on a steep bank of the Spey near Boat of Garten station on the Highland Railway. "This castle," states Sir William Fraser, "is said to have been the site of Lady Matilda's stronghold, known as Bigla's Castle. So close is it to the river that a practice existed of fishing from the windows by means of a net let down into the stream; the fish entering the net, rang a bell in the castle." Near the castle is a stone called Bigla's Stone, with a round perforation in the center under which Matilda

The Clan Chisholm

is said to have hidden the key to the castle while she was away attending church.

John Roy Grant is supposed to have been killed shortly after his marriage in a fight between the Comyns and Macleans.⁵ "A remarkable relic is preserved in Castle Grant, known as Comyn's skull. It is a human skull cut in halves with hinges added to make it open and shut. This skull is claimed to be that of the last Comyn of Freuchie, preserved as a relic of the traditional feud between the Grants and Comyns, and final triumph of the former."⁶

The issue of the marriage between John Roy and Matilda was a son—⁷

Sir Duncan Grant, who was the first of the family to be called "of Freuchie." His grandfather Gilbert had exchanged his lands of Glencairnie with the Countess of Moray for those of the two Fochabers in Strathspey,⁸ and King James I granted him in 1434-35 a precept of sasine infefting him as heir of his mother Matilda in part of the barony of Rothes and the two Fochabers. He was styled "Duncan le Graunte of Fruychy" in a precept dated August, 1453.⁹ He was declared a knight in 1464.¹⁰

Sir Duncan was a man of great influence in the Central Highlands, Urquhart, and in Glenmoriston, which section of Scotland had long suffered from the depredations of the Lords of the Isles and the Macleans. The Earl of Huntly, in obedience to the king's commands, looked about him for a strong tenant, able to protect the glen and keep the peace. His choice fell on Sir Duncan, the Knight of Freuchie, chief of the powerful clan of Grant. But "he was now full of years, and his fighting days were past." As his only son, John, had predeceased him, the active duty of restoring order fell to his grandson John.¹¹

Sir Duncan's death occurred in 1495, according to a Latin chronicle relating to the Highlands by the Dean of Lismore. In the *Chiefs of Grant* his death is given ten years earlier. His eldest son—¹²

John Grant, the younger of Freuchie, is described as son and apparent heir of Duncan Grant of Freuchie, in a grant in life-rent from George, Earl of Huntly, of the earl's lands of Fermestoun and Kinrara, dated 1478.¹³ He is doubtless the John Mor Grant of Freuchie, who is stated by the Kinrara MS.—The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan—to have married Muriel, daughter of Malcolm, tenth chief of Mackintosh.¹⁴ John Grant died during

The Grants of Freuchie and Corriemony

his father's life before September, 1483,¹⁵ and was buried in the cathedral church of Moray. His eldest son—¹⁶

John Grant, the Red Bard (Am Bard Ruadh), 2nd of Freuchie, succeeded his grandfather, Sir Duncan, as laird of Freuchie, January, 1493-94. He had a confirmation of his lands which were erected into the barony of Freuchie.¹⁷ From George, Earl of Huntly, he received in 1483 a gift of the lands of Kinrara. In 1509 he received a charter from James IV of the castle and barony of Urquhart "to be held by him and his sons as their absolute property."¹⁸

Under the rule of the Bard, a marked improvement took place in his barony. His loyalty to the Crown was above suspicion.

In 1513 Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh, who had been proclaimed Lord of the Isles, aided by Wiland de Chisholme, chief of Comar, and Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry, led a large army into Glen Urquhart, seized the castle, plundered and laid waste the glen, and held the lands for three years.* John Grant entered the courts of law to recover two thousand pounds damages against Sir Donald and his friends. Although he did not succeed in collecting his money, his son James later obtained the royal authority to sell certain goods and effects of Chisholm of Comar and other offenders in an attempt to collect the debt.¹⁹

It is probable that John of Freuchie was among the Highland chiefs who were with James IV at the battle of Flodden. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Ogilvey of Deskford,²⁰† he had a daughter Elizabeth, who married John Mackenzie, 9th of Kintail.²¹ He was succeeded by his eldest son James. His second son—²²

John Grant, 1st of Corriemony, in December, 1509, was granted a charter of the lands of Corriemony by James IV, who refers to him in the grant as "our lovite John Grant, younger son of John Grant of Freuchie."²³ These lands were incorporated into the Barony of Corriemony. For this barony John "was to maintain three sufficient horsemen for each ten pounds of the lands of the barony . . . also he was to construct in the manor place of Corriemony, a chamber, kitchen, pantry, bakehouse, brewhouse, smithy, cottage, dove-grove, orchard, etc." It was further provided that if he should be guilty of murder or common theft his lands should be forfeited.²⁴

*See Macdonalds of Glengarry.

†See Chart XXVI.

The Clan Chisholm

Immediately after the battle of Flodden, 1513, in the insurrection which followed for the purpose of proclaiming Sir Donald of Lochalsh "Lord of the Isles," a large body of Highlanders, led by Sir Donald, overran the lands of Urquhart and Corriemony, carrying off a vast amount of booty. John of Corriemony is said to have married a daughter of Alexander Strechen of Culloden.²⁵ He died in 1533, leaving a son—²⁶

John Grant, 2nd of Corriemony, who was infeft as heir of his father in the barony, May, 1536. In 1569 he joined the army raised in the North by the Earl of Huntly in Queen Mary's behalf, which went through the country with "displayit of baneris," invading both Aberdeen and Inverness.²⁷ The cause of the queen proving unsuccessful, he submitted to the government and received a royal pardon, July, 1569.²⁸ In May, 1580, he resigned his estates in favor of Duncan Grant of Freuchie in exchange for other lands. He died before 1593. By his wife Marjory, daughter of John Roy Grant of Ballindalloch,²⁹ he had a son—³⁰

John Grant, 3rd of Corriemony, called John Oig, who disputed the title of the Laird of Freuchie to his father's lands. The matter, being referred to arbitration, was decided in favor of John Oig, although he did not come into possession of all his father's former domain.

On December 11, 1645, he witnessed a protest by Sir James Fraser of Brey against Alexander Chisholm of Comar, that the latter had not assisted him against the depredations of Montrose's men.³¹* There was also a counter protest by The Chisholm.³²†

John Oig died about 1663 at a greatly advanced age. He married as his first wife, Christian, eldest daughter of Alexander Rose of Cantray, son of William Rose, eleventh laird of Kilravoch.³³ By her he had a son—³⁴

William Grant, apparent heir of Corriemony. In May, 1656, he was cautioner for Alexander Chisholm of Comar in a bond by Alexander M'Cra. He predeceased his father by a few months, dying in 1663. His son—³⁵

John Grant, 4th of Corriemony, succeeded his grandfather, John Oig, to the barony. He was appointed by the Laird of Freuchie, chamberlain of the lordship of Urquhart and in June a royal commission was granted to him and others to apprehend certain rebels from Badenoch who had invaded

*Chisholm held a portion of his estates †See the Clan Chisholm.
including Buntait as a vassal of Fraser.

The Grants of Freuchie and Corriemony

Glen Urquhart and plundered The Chisholm's lands of Buntait. In 1678 he was ordered by the Privy Council, together with other chieftains of the clan, to give security for the good behavior of themselves and their dependants.

He was baron bailie of The Chisholm in 1691 and the records of his proceedings in Bailie Court are still preserved at Erchless Castle. He was one of the elders of the parish church, although he married Katherine Macdonald of the family of Sleat, "a Papist born and bred."³⁶ His death occurred before 1724. His daughter married John Chisholm, son of Colin Chisholm of Knockfin.³⁷* John Chisholm's daughter Isabella married John Chisholm of Wester Knockfin.³⁸†

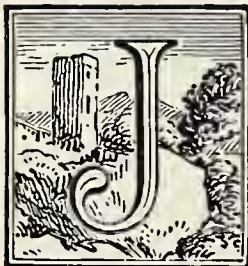
*See Clan Chart A^b.

†See Clan Chart A^a.

NOTE: The authority for the preceding outline of the Grants of Freuchie and Corriemony will be found in Sir William

Fraser's *Chiefs of Grant*; Francis J. Grant's *Grants of Corriemony*; *The Scots Peerage*, vol. VII; Mackay's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*; *The Family of Kilravock*; et al.

The Grants of Glenmoriston



JOH*N Grant*, 1st of Glenmoriston, the natural son of John Grant, second of Freuchie,* was known as Iain Mor (Big John) on account of his unusual size and prowess. In December, 1509, he had conferred upon him certain lands which were incorporated into the barony of Glenmoriston.¹ Despite the bar sinister, he attained a position of great influence and power and before his death became the proprietor, not only of Glenmoriston, but Culcabock and Knockintional, on which the Inverness barracks now stand.

The raids of the Islesmen, led by Macdonald of Glengarry and his son Lochiel, into the country of the Grants, resulted in a suit for damages brought by the Lairds of Grant, Urquhart and Glenmoriston, the outcome of which was the forfeiture to the Grants of much of Glengarry's domains. To Iain Mor was assigned lands in Lochalsh and Lochcarron; but he was never able to take actual possession of this land acquired by what was contemptuously called by the Highlanders as "sheepskin rights."²

John Grant died in 1548. By his second wife Agnes, whom he married by Papal dispensation and who was the daughter of William Fraser, and granddaughter of Thomas Fraser, 2nd Lord of Lovat,³† he had a son—⁴

Patrick Grant, 2nd of Glenmoriston, who was served heir to the barony in 1556. Patrick, like his cousins of Urquhart and Corriemoney, heartily espoused the cause of the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots; and when, after her defeat at Langside, she fled into England, her Scottish champions, under the leadership of the Earl of Huntly, the Laird of Grant, Patrick of Glenmoriston and others, formed an army and marched through the country generally terrorizing the peaceable inhabitants. But in 1569 the Queen's cause becoming hopeless, these nobles surrendered to the regent and in July received a pardon issued in the name of the young king.⁵

Patrick married Beatrice, daughter of Archibald Campbell, Thane of Cawdor, "with whom he is said to have become acquainted while attending the then noted school of Petty."⁶

*See Clan Chart F.

†See Clan Chart D.

The Grants of Glenmoriston

“Tradition tells that Beatrice’s father visiting the young couple at Tom-an-t-Sabhail (Barnhill, a knoll on the south side of the river Moriston) was so affected by the meanness of their wicker dwelling that he offered to build them a house at Invermoriston more befitting the daughter of the Thane of Cawdor. The offer was accepted and Patrick and his wife removed to Invermoriston which has ever since been the family seat.”⁷

Patrick Grant’s second wife was Janet, widow of Thomas Chisholm of Comar, who died without issue.

Patrick of Glenmoriston died in 1581 and was succeeded by his son—⁸

John Grant, 3rd of Glenmoriston, who became a prominent figure in the affairs of his native Highlands. Like his grandfather he was a man of great stature and marvelous strength and was commonly known as Iain Mor a’ Chaistel, or Big John of the Castle; the “castle” referring to his family residence, Invermoriston. So strong was he that he is said to have crushed to a jelly, in the preliminary handshake, the hand of a boastful English champion whose insulting challenge no one else had dared to accept. The story of his wager that his Highland candlesticks with their brilliant lights could rival anything London could produce is told in the Appendix.

John, 3rd of Glenmoriston, was appointed by King James VI, one of the justices and commissioners to suppress disorders among the Clan Ranald.⁹ He also occupied the position of chamberlain and baron-bailie of Urquhart. This virtually gave him entire “jurisdiction over the lives and property of the inhabitants of Glen Urquhart.”¹⁰

He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Laird of Grant,¹¹ and died in 1637, being succeeded by his son—¹²

Patrick, 4th of Glenmoriston, who together with the Earl of Sutherland, the Laird of Grant, Lord Lovat and other prominent Highlanders, supported the cause of the Covenanters against the king, Charles I. His activities in their defense were brought to a close by his death which occurred in 1643. He married Margaret, daughter of Hugh Fraser of Culbokie and Guisachen,¹³ by whom he had a daughter—¹⁴

Mary Grant, who married Colin Chisholm of Knockfin.^{15*}

* See Clan Chart A^b.

NOTE: The facts relative to the Grants of Glenmoriston are largely from Sir Wil-

liam Fraser’s *Chiefs of Grant*; Doctor Mackay’s *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*; *The Scots Peerage*; Burke’s *Landed Gentry*.

World War Records

Among those who rendered distinguished service throughout the World War was Lieut.-Col. Frederick Ross Phelan of Montreal.* He joined the Canadian Officers Training Corps on August 14, 1914. On November 6, 1915, he embarked for overseas and in January, 1916, was appointed staff Captain of the 11th Canadian Infantry Brigade, being later promoted to substantive Captain. On October 21 of that same year he was awarded the Military Cross, and from then on promotions, honors, and decorations followed in rapid succession.

During the Vimy Ridge and Passchendaele operations he was acting Brigade Major, being advanced to substantive Major in February, 1918. Twice he was mentioned in dispatches and was awarded the French Croix de Guerre, the Distinguished Service Order, the Colonial Auxiliary Forces Long Service Medal, and Colonial Auxiliary Forces Officers' Decoration. In 1920 Colonel Phelan was transferred to the Canadian Grenadier Guards and in January, 1931, was promoted to the position of Lieutenant-Colonel in command of that regiment.

William Alexander Knox† joined the Australians for service in Egypt. Later he returned to England and went with the Canadian contingent to France where he was severely wounded. Upon rejoining his regiment he was promoted to the rank of captain and served with distinction throughout his term of enlistment.

William Pearson‡ was among the younger men from Canada who was in active service in France and whose war record reflects credit on his bravery and devotion to the cause for which he finally sacrificed his young life.

Alastair Chisholm, son of the late Archibald Chisholm, formerly sheriff-clerk of Inverness-shire, also paid the supreme sacrifice in the Great War. His sister—

Mairi Chisholm drove a hospital ambulance daily at the front for almost the entire period of the war.

* See the Phelan Family.

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25. Ibid., p. 37; *The Scots Peerage*, vol. V; Hailes, II, p. 184, 3rd ed.
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30. Chamberlain Rolls, I, 252.
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36. See Earls of Strathearn.
37. Alexander Mackenzie's *History of the Frasers*.
38. *The Frasers of Philorth* by Lord Saltoun, I, 129, 130.
39. Registrum Epis. Morav, no. 286, p. 368, referred to in *The Scots Peerage*.
40. Ibid., nos. 285, 288, pp. 367, 369.
41. Alexander Mackenzie's *History of the Frasers*; Anderson's *Account of the Frasers*, p. 52.
42. *The Scots Peerage*, vol. V; Douglas' *Peerage*; Anderson's *Account of the Frasers*, p. 52; *The Mackintoshes* by A. M. Mackintosh, p. 67.
43. Pleadings in the Consistorial Court of Moray, May 8, 1549, showing that "Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat begot the deceased Hugh, Lord of Lovat and Euphemia Fraser, brother and sister . . . which Hugh, Lord of Lovat first of that side begot the deceased Thomas, Lord of Lovat who begot William Fraser; which William Fraser begot Agnes Fraser, asserted spouse of the later John of Culcabok." Sir William Fraser's *Chiefs of Grant*, III, 375.
44. Anderson's *Account of the Frasers*, p. 61; Reg. Mag. Sig., Sept. 16, 1430.
45. *Family of Wemyss*, II, 60.
46. Anderson's *Account of the Frasers*, p. 61.
47. Ibid.; MS. History of the Frasers, in the Advocats' Library, pp. 147, 154.
48. Lovat case decided July 3, 1730; *Spaulding Club Miscellany*, V, 256.
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60. Ibid., p. 75; *House of Gordon* by J. M. Bullock, I, 8; et al.
61. *Sheriff Court Records of Aberdeenshire* by David Littlejohn, LL.D.
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63. *The Scots Peerage*; Wardlaw MS., p. 122; Anderson's *Account of the Frasers*, p. 75.
64. Alexander Mackenzie's *History of the Chisholms*, p. 165.
65. References the same as no. 63.
66. Reg. Mag. Sig.
67. Same as no. 63.
68. All reliable authorities.
69. Wardlaw MS., p. 128.
70. Ibid.
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81. Chart. de Soltre, no. 8; Anderson's *Account of the Frasers*, p. 10.
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83. *The Scots Peerage*, vol. VII.
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Appendix

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RAGMAN ROLL

Ragman Roll was the name given to the collection of those instruments by which the nobility and gentry of Scotland were constrained to subscribe allegiance to Edward I of England in 1296. The Roll was made up of four large rolls of parchment consisting of thirty-five pieces sewed together and kept in the Tower of London. In this document was set forth in very strong language that the "homage doer came forward out of a sense of duty and of his own free will to record his allegiance to the English King, Edward I." Attended as he was by a fine army, there was no alternative but to sign it; all must obey but those who chose martyrdom. However, an oath of homage did not sink too deeply in to the feudal conscience. Richard de Chesholme, described as "Del Counte de Rokesburgh" and his son, Sir John de Chesholme, "Del Counte de Berwyke," were among the signers of the Ragman Roll.

ANTIQUITY OF THE HIGHLAND DRESS

So familiar are we with the picturesque Highland costume that it needs no special description but its early history is not so generally known.

Doctor Skene in his *History of the Highlands of Scotland* states that "it would be too much to affirm that the Highland dress, as at present worn in all its minute details, is ancient," although the three varieties in the form of dress worn in the seventeenth century, "can each be traced back to antiquity." There are no descriptions of it prior to the fourteenth century but the proof of the existence of the same mode of dress by the Highlanders centuries ago is established by the fact that "on the various tombs of the ancient Highland chiefs, still extant in some of the ruined chapels of the western Highlands, are to be seen effigies of these personages, represented clad in armour and almost invariably in the Highland dress. Some of these even show indications of the sporran or purse." The first form of dress was that worn by the Dune Uasal, or gentry, and consisted of the breacan or plaid, and the lenicroich, or Highland shirt. "The earliest notice of the entire dress dates from 1538. It included the truis, or stockings made of tartan, the Highland shirt, the short Highland coat made of tartan velvet, with the sleeves "slasht out"; and finally the plaid thrown over the shoulders. . . . Among the gentry the plaid was always of tartan and the coats appear to have been since 1538 of tartan velvet; the short hoiss, or truis, were also of tartan. The Highland shirt was of linen dyed with saffron. Among the common people the plaid was certainly not of tartan but generally brown in color, while the shirt worn by them was tartan. . . ." The dress of the Highland women was very picturesque. Over a gown, reaching to the ankles and usually embroidered, they wore large mantles woven of different colors. Their chief ornaments were bracelets and necklaces.

Appendix

THE ARROGANCE OF A HIGHLAND CHIEF

The absurd but magnificent regality of a Highland chief is set forth by Kenneth Macleod in his note to the *Song of the Hebrides*. It seems that every night after dinner The Macneill sent his trumpeter to the tower of the castle to make the following proclamation: "Ye kings, princes, and potentates of all the world, be it known unto you that Macneill of Barra has dined—the rest of the world may dine now."

LANDS FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CHISHOLMS OF STRATHGLASS

Lands of Quarrelwood, by the Heiress of Lauder, Anno. 1334
Lands of Invermoryn, Anno. 1367
Lands, one quarter of Blary, Anno. 1367
Lands, one quarter of Inchbrews, Anno. 1367
Lands, one quarter of Lochlette (in Urquhart), Anno. 1367
Lands of Cantra and some others in Strathnairn, Anno. 1363
Lands of Achmandy and Cortally (in Urquhart), Anno. 1379
Lands of the Barony of Panton (in Tweeddale), Anno. 1400
Lands of Clunie and Clova (in Morayshire)
Lands, one half of the Barony of Rethy (in Forfarshire)
Lands, one half of Culase and Buthergask (in Perthshire)
Lands, one half of Quadqueen (in Lanarkshire)
Lands, one half of the Barony of Gask (in Forfarshire)
Lands, one half of the Town of Kinrossie and Miln
Lands, one half of Strathy and Prony in the Earldom of Strathearn
Lands of Kinstarie, Brightmonie, Griershop, and Geddes (in Morayshire)
Lands, one half of the Barony of Drumblate
Lands, one half of the two Tollis and Culquhort in the Earldom of Marr
Lands, one half of the two Arkettys and Craigtown in the Barony of Crauden (in Aberdeenshire)
Lands near the Town of Inverness

The estate of the present Chisholm consists of the lands in Strathglass, first date of possession not known, and lands in Urquhart and the Aird. Rental from £5,000 to £6,000 yearly.—1840.

DESCRIPTION OF COSTUME WORN BY THE CHISHOLM CHIEFS

The figure in the picture of a Chisholm chief drawn by MacIan "is represented in the attire in which the chief usually appears when present at festivals or national meetings. This costume is the Court dress of a Highlander, and the Chisholm's plain tartan is as proud a passport to the presence of royalty as the splendid uniform of the British

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guard. The black velvet jacket contrasts well with the red-coloured kilt; and by wearing the imitation of the old belted plaid the breast is left free, and neither ornaments nor arms are hidden. The pistols are remarkable for size, but they are painted from a genuine old family pair. The brogs are of a pattern frequently worn by gentlemen." The above description is given by James Logan. The Chisholm breacan or plaid is classed among the red tartans. Only the clans whose tartans are red wear the so-called hunting tartans.

JAMES LOGAN'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CHISHOLMS

James Logan, F.S.A., in his MS. *History of the Clan Chisholm*, presents a somewhat unique theory for the origin of the Highland Chisholms. "Harald or Guthred, Earl or Thane of Caithness, Orkney and Shetland," he writes, "appears to be the first of this family (the Chisholms) on record, and however he may have acquired the addition of Chisholm, he possessed great influence in the north. His power was increased by marriage with the daughter of Mached or Madach, Earl of Atholl, the last male descendant of Donald Bàn, sometime king of Scotland." It seems this Harald possessed a rebellious and restless spirit and committed many atrocities during the reign of William the Lion, among these being the burning or slaying of John, Bishop of Caithness, "with circumstances of great cruelty." For this and other crimes, declares Logan, who bases his authority partly on the narrative found in Sir Robert Gordon's *Earls of Sutherland*, King William publicly hanged Harald, put out the eyes of his only son Thorfinn, after causing him to be terribly mutilated, and finally ended by emasculating "his whole lineage and familie . . . lest any succession should spring from so detestable a seid." "A procedure," writes the late John Scott Chisholme of Stirches, "on the part of that monarch so inimical to my existence that I prefer the more humble Norman origin in which I have been taught to believe."

But Logan modifies Sir Robert Gordon's assertion by adding "that it is not at all probable that so complete an extermination took place." However, he maintains that it is very probable that the settlement in Strathglass of the Clan Siosal—the remnants of Harald's followers—dated from the period of their rigorous persecution and it was here they resolved to defend their independence.

LEGEND OF THE SUPPORTS OF THE CHISHOLM COAT-OF-ARMS

In Mackenzie's *History of the Chisholms*, page 10, is given the following tradition regarding the origin of the two savages who appear as supporters of the Chisholm coat-of-arms. It is quoted from James Logan's MS.: "There is a traditional legend of the Chisholms having first received their lands in Inverness-shire by a Royal Grant, as a reward for having saved the life of one of the Scottish kings, who was attacked while hunting by a furious boar. This savors much of genealogical fable. . . . The

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popular tradition is that two brothers determined to destroy a ferocious boar which kept the whole Strath in constant terror and, having discovered his den, one of the men, as the animal was about to attack him, thrust his hand down its throat, and dragged out the tongue and stomach, at sight of which his companion exclaimed, 'Si salaich,' meaning that he had made a filthy grasp. From this comes Si'sal, and the brothers became the armorial supporters."

Mackenzie in a footnote adds that "tradition still points out the place in Glenconvinch where this combat is said to have taken place.

THE STANDARD-BEARER OF THE CHISHOLM

According to tradition, a chief of Glengarry, having two sons, each of whom was called John, distinguished the one from the other by naming the elder Ian-dubh, and the younger, Ian-Ohar. The latter left Glengarry and settled at Lochcarron. A member of his family was the first of the name of Macdonnell to make his home in Strathglass. He settled in Carri, Glencannich, and his descendants became so numerous and respected that The Chisholm appointed them his leine-chrios, or body-guard. For centuries one of the family was always standard-bearer for The Chisholm. When the last of these hereditary banner-bearers emigrated to America about 1826, he constituted as his successor his own namesake and nearest relative, Christopher Macdonnell, as standard-bearer.*

POPULARITY OF THE CHIEFS OF CHISHOLM WITH THEIR CLANSMEN

"Comar, in the very heart of Strathglass, was usually the residence of the Chiefs of the Chisholms, when the heir-apparent was unmarried." On the latter's marriage the chief resided at the old house of Erchless until the modern castle was built, while his son occupied Comar. "The chief used to say that the best possible training for the young laird was to begin life among the most comfortable of his tenantry." It is said that "the ties of friendship and mutual confidence never stood on a firmer basis than in the country of Chisholm. The alacrity with which the tenants furnished their chief with the requisite number of men to procure commissions for such of his sons as made choice of the profession of arms was wonderful. The process was simple but effective and was as follows: Either the ground officer or the wood-ranger would call out with stentorian voice at the door of the chapel after mass on Sunday that The Chisholm wished every man on his estate to assemble on a given day to meet him at the local inn of Cannich or Clachan, as the case might be. The request was readily and loyally attended to. Farmers brought their sons, men-servants and all their dependants and took pardonable pride in introducing them to their chief. He had only to state the number he wished, and the quota was soon made up. The widow of John Ban Chisholm of Lietre brought her seven sons to Alexander Chisholm XVI." Colin Chisholm's *Traditions of Strathglass*.

* This sketch is based on Colin Chisholm's *Traditions of Strathglass*.

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THE CHISHOLM AND "BIG FORBES"

In settling in Strathglass, it is said that the Chisholms met with opposition from the clan Forbes. According to tradition, about the middle of the sixteenth century, Alexander Chisholm, who was a man of most ungovernable temper, quarrelled with "big Forbes, and brutally stabbed him to death in a field a little east of Kerrow which is still called 'Iomaire-an-Fhoirbeisich' or Forbes's field."*

CHARTA CONFIRMATION OF INDENTURE BETWEEN MARGARET DE LA AIRD AND LADY OF ERCHLESS, AND WILLIAM DE FENTON

"Charta Confirmation of an Indenture betwixt William de Fentoun of Baky, on the one part, and Margaret de la Ard of Erchless and Thomas de Chesehelme, her son and heir, on the other part, dividing between them the lands of which they were heirs portions, viz. the barony of Rothy in Forfarshire; the lands of Culase and Buthergask, in Perthshire; the lands of Quodquen, in Lanarkshire; the barony of Gask, in Forfarshire; the town of Kinrossy and mill thereof, and the lands of Strathy and Pronny, in the earldom of Strathern; the barony of Drumblate, the two Tollis, and Culquhork in the earldom of Mar; the two Arketys and Craigtown, in the barony of Crowden, and shire of Aberdeen; and the lands of the Ard in Inverness-shire."†

This indenture is dated at Kinrossie, April 25, 1403, but has no witnesses.

AN OLD TRADITION

"There is a very old tradition that the Clan Siosal were excommunicated, and a malediction uttered by the Bishop of Caithness that there should never be found together Nine times Nine of the Clan, and this is thought to have always held true. It must, however, apply to social meetings; in Clan Gatherings that Number would not command respect."‡

PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES OF FOUR HIGHLAND CHIEFS

Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat, born in 1666 was known as MacShime Bal-du, i.e., Black-Spotted Simpson, owing to a large black spot on his upper lip. Three other chiefs were distinguished at this time by similar deformities: M'Keinich Glindu, i.e., Black-kneed Mackenzie; Mac-an-Toshich Claon, i.e., Squint-eyed Mackintosh; Shisalack Came, i.e., Crooked-eyed Chisholm.

*From *Traditions of Strathglass*.

†*Robertson's Index*, p. 167, no. 21.

‡This was copied from an article found in the charter chest at Inverness.

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THE CHISHOLM AND HIS JESTER

The Highland chief has been likened to a petty sovereign and so did the positions of many members of his household resemble those maintained by royalty. In olden times a fool or jester was an adjunct to every chief's staff. Colin Chisholm in his *Traditions of Strathglass* relates the following somewhat amusing story concerning The Chisholm's fool. It seems that one of the Chisholm chiefs, being afflicted with some trouble with his legs which rendered him unable to walk, was sitting in his garden one day when, the flies becoming troublesome, he summoned his fool to keep them off his legs. "The fool carried in his hand a huge cudgel, and seeing a swarm of flies alight on his master's legs, aimed at them a blow that instead of killing the flies nearly broke the legs of the chief, who immediately swooned from the pain." Thinking he had killed him, the fool in terror fled to the woods, where some servants from the castle sought him. Suddenly from the top of a thickly branched tree, they heard him call out, "Ye needna, sirs, for mysel just found mysel." Upon being reproached for the injury done, the chief, he replied, "It was the flies did it, not me." As it turned out "the poor fool was the best physician his master ever had," for shortly afterwards the disease in his legs disappeared and "there was not a gentleman in the country that had a sounder pair of legs than The Chisholm."

THE CHISHOLM'S PASSPORT OF 1655

"The Laird of Chisholme beinge discharged his imprisonment by the General (Monck) his especiall order, and haveinge given bonds remaininge with mee accordinge to his Honor's directions, I therefore desire hee with his two servants and three horses may freely passe to the place of his abode beyounde Invernes and returne without let or molestation, they behaveinge themselves peaceably and quietly. Given under my hand and seale at Edinburgh, this 31st May, 1655.

HEN. WHALLEY, Judge-Advocate.

To all whom it may concerne."

STORY OF THE DAIRY MAIDS

The following legend, based on Colin Chisholm's *Traditions of Strathglass*, illustrates the decidedly informal, if not crude, manner by which a certain boundary line, between the estates of the Chisholms of Comar and the Mackenzies of Kintail, was at one time fixed.

It seems that the Chisholm's tenants and those of the Earl of Seaforth in Kintail disagreed as to the proper boundary on the hills between the estates of their respective chiefs. The chiefs, being relatives and always on friendly terms with each other, looked with disfavor upon disputes among their vassals. Finally "after a variety of suggestions by eminent men on both sides, it was decided to submit the question of the boundary to the wisdom of the two chiefs." Their decision was as unique as the result was tragic. "An old dairymaid from Kintail was to be sent from Caisteal Donnan, and

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a Strathglass maid from Beinnvean, and wherever they met was to be the boundary line." Each set forth at the time appointed and in due course confronted each other west of Glen-Affric on a hillock between Loch-a-bheallaich and Altbeatha. "You have come too far towards Kintail and I will go still further towards Strathglass," declared Seaforth's dairymaid. The Chisholm maid retorted that if she dared to pass a step further it would be the worse for her. Heedless of the warning, the other advanced. "Whereupon her adversary dealt her a fatal blow with her staff. Thrusting the staff in the ground near the lifeless body, the maid from Strathglass marched in triumph back to Comar." Where the staff was found is called Cnoc-a-Chuaille or the hillock of the bludgeon.

It was in this extraordinary fashion that the boundary was settled.

THE ABDUCTION OF LOVAT'S DAUGHTER BY A LAIRD OF CHISHOLM

There is a tradition to the effect that one of the Chisholm chiefs—his name is not given—carried off a daughter of Lord Lovat and placed her for safety on an islet in Loch Bruiach, where she was soon discovered by her Fraser relatives, who had speedily mustered for the rescue. A severe conflict ensued between the Chisholms and Frasers, during which the young lady was accidentally slain by her own brother. A plaintive Gaelic song records the sad incident and numerous tumuli mark the graves of those who fell.*

THE CHISHOLMS AT SHERIFFMUIR

Over two hundred Chisholms under the command of the Earl of Mar were present at the battle of Sheriffmuir. It was in this battle that The Chisholm's piper, John Beag, distinguished himself. After the Highlanders had carried all before them down the declivity towards Dunblane, a halt was called, and the pipers ordered to play Buaidh-larach, but the only piper among them who could play a note was the cool, hardy, little John Beag from Strathglass. As the strains of the music died away, the whole line from end to end shouted in admiration, "Sud suas e piobaire an-t-Siosalaich!"

The men from Strathglass, headed by John Chisholm of Knockfin, united prior to the battle with a body of Frasers, thus forming one regiment under the command of a Fraser, but the report, as contained in Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat's, account of the taking of Inverness, that the Chisholms were vassals of the Fraser family, is absolutely without foundation. His lordship, who, fearing the forfeiture of his estates, supported the English in the battle of Sheriffmuir, "wrote strange and imaginary things." Referring to this ridiculous claim of Lord Lovat, the author of an old family MS. states, "I have examined authentic copies of the charters in possession of Lord Lovat and The Chisholm, and have failed to discover the remotest allusion to vassalage from beginning to end in any of the document."†

*This legend is based on a story by John Logan. *Celtic Magazine*, vol. VI.

†These facts were largely drawn from the

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EXCERPTS FROM GENERAL WADE'S REPORT ON THE HIGHLANDS TO HIS MAJESTY—1724

“The Highlanders’ Notions of Virtue and Vice are very different from the more civilized part of Mankind. They think it a most Sublime Virtue to pay Servile and Abject Obediance to the Commands of their Chieftains, altho’ in opposition to their Sovereign . . . and to encourage this, their Fidelity, they are treated by their Chiefs with great Familiarity, they partake with them in their Diversions, and shake them by the Hand whenever they meet them. . . . On sudden Alarms, or when any Chieftain is in distress, they give Notice to their Clans, or those in Alliance with them by sending a Man with what they call the Fiery Cross, which is a Stick in the form of a Cross, burnt at the End, who send it forward to the next Tribe or Clan. They carry with it a Paper, directing them where to Assemble; upon sight of which . . . with great Expedition, they repair to the place of Rendezvous, with Arms, Ammunition and Meal for their Provision.”

“Clans—Well Affected to His Majesty

	<i>Men able to bear Arms</i>
The Duke of Argyll	4,000
Lord Lovat, Frasers	800
The Grants	800
Ross of Kilravock	300
Sir Archibald of Clunis	200
The Ross’s and Munro’s	700

“The Clans—Still Supposed to be Disaffected to His Majesty’s Government

Clans of the late Lord of Seaforth	3,000
Macdonels of Glengary, Moidart and Keppock	1,820
Lochiel (Camerons)	800
The McLeods in all	1,000
The Duke of Gordon’s followers	1,000
Mcintoshe’s and Farquharson’s	800
Chisholms of Strathglass	150

“Memorial Anent the Highlands—1745

Ascribed to Duncan Forbes of Colloden

“*Chisholms*—Their Chieftain is Chisholm of Strathglass. In Irish called Inshisolich, holds his land of the Crown and can bring out 200 Men.”

LETTER OF CONTRITION FROM THE CHISHOLM TO GENERAL WADE

“I presume to throw myself under your protection, fully confident that so much goodness cannot decline representing my unhappy case to the best of kings;—I meant rebellion, which I now detest; and Sir, I hope that my repentance will be judged the

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more solid that I am now in mature years ; whereas I had not attained to years of manhood when unnaturally I allowed myself to be led to bear arms against his Majesty, King George."

PARDON OF RODERICK CHISHOLM XXI

"Pardonamus, remittimus, relaxamus, pranfato, Robert Stuart de Appin, Alexander Macdonald, de Glenco, John Grant, Domino, Anglice Laird de Glenmorrison, Joanno Mackinnon, Anglice Laird de Mackinnon, Roderick Chisholm de Strathglass, etc."

INCIDENT OF THE CHISHOLM AND FRASERS AT THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

On the eve of the battle of Culloden, Lord Lovat ordered Rory, The Chisholm's son who commanded the Strathglass men and held the rank of Colonel in the Prince's army, to join, with his followers, the standard of the Frasers, which order Rory promptly and indignantly refused and complained to Prince Charles and his staff that Lord Lovat had attempted to deprive him of his standard. After some argument on both sides, the case was decided in favor of young Chisholm. Lovat, annoyed by the decision, seeing a man by the name of Fraser in The Chisholm's ranks, went over and taking him by the arm led him to his own side. Thereupon Col. Rory Chisholm acted in the same manner towards a Chisholm whom he observed among the Frasers. This interchange of men continued until no Chisholm was left among the Frasers ; and no Fraser among the Chisholms. "It was on this occasion that young Rory placed his standard in the hands of William Chisholm, Fear-innis-nan-cearn, who fell so gloriously on the following day at Culloden, together with his spirited young commander, Col. Rory Chisholm."*

THE COMMAND OF MAJOR LOCKHART TO THE TWO CHISHOLMS

After the battle of Culloden, the infamous Major Lockhart was placed in command of the troops at Inverness. Although the eldest son of Roderick Chisholm, XXI of Comar, commanded the Chisholm contingent on the side of Prince "Charlie" at this battle, two of The Chisholm's younger sons, John and James, were commissioned officers in the royal army. Hearing that one of his soldiers who had been sent with a party to plunder and burn the villages of Glenstrathfarrar, had been killed somewhere between the lands of The Chisholm and Lord Lovat, Lockhart ordered two companies to be ready the next morning to accompany him with the purpose of burning the Chisholm country. Among the officers whom he selected for this expedition were John and James, The Chisholm's sons. They appeared before him and urged him to institute such inquiries as would bring the murderers to justice. Their petition was refused and the

*This incident was taken from the *Celtic Magazine*, vol. VI.

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Major roughly ordered them from his presence. That night as he was about to retire, a stray bullet found a billet in his body. Strathglass still remains unburned.*

TWO SAINTS, PROGENITORS OF THE CHISHOLMS

It is indeed rare that a family can boast of two saints as ancestors, yet it is an indisputable fact that St. Margaret of Scotland† and St. Louis of France,‡ each a calendar saint of the Roman Catholic church, were progenitors of that branch of the Chisholm family, who were the descendants of Alexander Chisholm, the fourteenth chief and his wife, Janet Mackenzie, daughter of Lady Elizabeth Stewart.

HUGH MACPHAIL CHISHOLM'S SWORD

At Inverness in August, 1930, there was a Highland exhibition. On the wall was hung a sword which bore the inscription: "This Andrea Ferrara blade belonged to Hugh Macphail Chisholm, the Corrie Ahoe hero, who fought at Culloden in 1746."

NOTE ON THE BORDER AND CROMLIX BRANCH OF THE CHISHOLMS

The Border or Roxburgh Chisholms survived until the Boer War when the last of the line, Col. John James Scott Chisholme, commanding the Fifth Lancers, fell in the cavalry charge of the regiment at Elandslaagte.

Sir James Chisholme of the Cromlix branch—which was descended from the fourth son of Robert Chisholme of Roxburgh—was chaplain to King James III. He was a man of good repute but his half brother, Bishop William Chisholme of Dunblane, and the two succeeding Bishop Williams of this same family, possessed somewhat unsavory reputations. It was the second Bishop William, however, who was sent to Rome to procure a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage of Queen Mary to Darnley.

John Chisholm, the last of this line, died without issue and the Cromlix estates were inherited by his sister Jane's son, General Sir William Drummond, first Viscount Strathallen and Lord Drummond of Cromlix, whose daughter Elizabeth carried the Chisholm lands of Cromlix to her husband, Thomas Hay, Earl of Dupplin and sixth Earl of Kinnoul.

HIGHLAND EVICTIONS

No clearer idea can be given of the Highland evictions and the resultant suffering than that portrayed by the Hon. Colin Chisholm of Lietry in his statement before the Cotters and Crofters' Commission, a report of which was published in 1884. Therefore the following excerpts from his testimony before this commission will be of interest to

*This story is founded on Colin Chisholm's
Traditions of Strathglass.

† See Scottish Chart I.

‡ See French Chart V.

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those, the roots of whose ancestral tree were planted deep in Highland soil: "There are no men left in my part of the country that had the courage to come and tell what their experience was in my time, and I come in their behalf from Strathglass to give my story about the glens there. . . . The whole of Glencannich, which is about fourteen miles in length with an average breadth of three miles, is at present a deer forest with the exception of one small farm rented by a widow and her son. But in my recollection there were thirty-three prosperous tenant farmers and twelve families of cotters residing there. These people educated their sons tolerably well. In my own time there were seventeen Glencannich men—eight of whom bore the name of Chisholm—who held commissions in Her Majesty's army; and nine men—four by the name of Chisholm—in holy orders. . . . The list will show that they were abreast of their neighbors in social position and general intelligence. However, the crude management of factors and former proprietors cleared out every one of the forty-five families in Glencannich. Many of the tenantry of the Strathglass were humanely taken over by the late Lord Lovat. The odium of having cleared the native population out of Glenstrathfarrar and turning it into a deer forest, rests with the youngest son of Simon, Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill." Here Mr. Chisholm takes occasion to refer to the great kindness shown the tenants near Erchless by Mrs. Elizabeth Chisholm, widow of the chief, and her daughter, Mary, wife of James Gooden, Esq.

"Knockfin and South Affric is a deer forest and is about twenty-four miles long by two miles wide. It was William, The Chisholm, and his wife, Lady Ramsay, who cleared the people out of the half davoch of Knockfin and the glen of Affric. The first large party of the evicted left Strathglass in 1801 and settled principally in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward and Cape Breton Islands. Between William, The Chisholm, his wife, and two sons, nearly the whole native population was squeezed out of Strathglass. . . . The other glens in that district have been ruthlessly and unmercifully cleared. An American bought and turned 250,000 acres in the counties of Ross and Inverness into a deer forest, an area of about four hundred square miles. . . .

"Large sheep farms were mainly the cause of the unnatural depopulation of the glens; but now deer forests as their illegitimate offspring are daily diminishing the means of subsistence in this kingdom. . . . From the road one can see heavy crops of natural grass waving on hillside and meadow; half tamed deer browsing at ease, together with wild birds and game of every description in quiet possession, and feeding among the crumbled walls of houses where once happy families of stalwart Highlanders were reared and educated."

In the Report of the Cotters' and Crofters' Commission, page 530, is given a list of deer forests. In this list are found the following statistics:

Erchless and Glen Affric—Proprietor, The Chisholm		
Area in statute acres—	Erchless	12,670
	Glen Affric	14,320
Greatest altitude above sea level—	Erchless	2,773 ft.
	Glen Affric	3,877 ft.
Lowest altitude above sea level—	Erchless	500 ft.
	Glen Affric	710 ft.

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ORIGIN OF THE CHISHOLM TARTAN

In *The Romantic Story of the Highland Garb and the Tartan*, by J. G. Mackay, is the following interesting story relative to the origin of the Chisholm tartan. It seems that the tartan of the Chisholms is that of the Mackintoshes, with the addition of two white lines through the blue. "It arose in this way," writes Mackay:

"The Chisholms being of Lowland origin, and having no family connection to draw upon for a pattern, Margaret MacKintosh, daughter of MacKintosh VIII of MacKintosh, who married Thomas Chisholm of Comar about the year 1400, added the two white lines to the tartan of her own clan, and so designed the Chisholm tartan."

The Chisholm tartan, like the Macdonalds and others, being of bright colors (red), it was necessary to adopt a more sombre and consequently more serviceable one for hunting. This was done by making the larger squares of darker colors, but retaining the arrangement of stripes so that they still showed the clan pattern.

HIGHLAND NATIONAL DRESS FORBIDDEN, 1746 OATH ADMINISTERED

"I do swear, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, that I have not, nor shall have in my possession, any sword, gun, pistol, or any arm whatsoever; and that I never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb: and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property; may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations; may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred: may all this come across me if I break my oath."

STORY OF MARY LESLIE, DOWAGER COUNTESS OF ROSS AND ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, VI OF KINTAIL

In an old family MS. known as the Ardintone MS., there is an interesting anecdote relative to Mary Leslie, Dowager Countess of Ross,* widow of Donald, Lord of the Isles, and her unrequited love for Alexander Mackenzie, VI of Kintail,† which Doctor Mackenzie quotes in his *History of the Mackenzies*.‡ The story is briefly as follows: Alexander Mackenzie, VI of Kintail, "being a proper, handsome young man," had won the affection of the Dowager Countess of Ross, who was not backward in signifying her desire to marry him. Mackenzie, having already plighted his troth to Ann, the daughter of Macdougall of Donnelly, repulsed her advances.

Being of a somewhat turbulent nature, it was thought that the Countess had incited her son Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, to rebellion. For this reason, the king held her a virtual prisoner in her castle of Dingwall on St. Colin's Isle.

*See Clan Chart C.

†See Clan Chart B.

‡Mackenzie refers to the countess as Euphemia

but this is an error as Euphemia died in 1398-99, before Alexander Mackenzie was born.

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Not being a faint hearted lady, she invited Kintail to her court at Dingwall to make a final effort to break down the barriers to his heart ; but, finding him still obdurate, her love suddenly changed to hatred and her guest became her prisoner. Either by torture or bribery, she procured from his page the golden ring which was a token between Mackenzie and Macaulay, his governor of Ellandonnan Castle, to whom he had given instructions neither to quit the castle nor suffer anyone to enter it unless bearing the token.

Having secured the ring, the Countess sent it to Macaulay by one of her own gentlemen who informed the governor that, as his master was, or shortly would be, married to the Countess of Ross, his presence was desired at Dingwall, also that he was to leave Ellandonnan in charge of the Countess' representative who would act as governor. Macaulay, believing the story, gave up the castle as instructed, but soon discovered that Kintail was held as a prisoner and not as a bridegroom.

Learning from his master that it would be necessary to take captive the Countess' relative, Ross of Balnagown, in order to make an exchange, Macaulay secured the person of Balnagown. On his way back to Ellandonnan, he met a party of men sent by the Countess with provisions for the garrison. He secured them and "clothing his own men in their upper garments and plaids, placed the sacks of meal on their backs and went with them to the castle." The false governor freely admitted them, whereupon they threw down their sacks and, drawing weapons from under their plaids, seized the new governor and all his men whom they held captives until Mackenzie was later exchanged for the governor and Balnagown.

LORD LOVAT'S SALMON CATCH

The last Lord Lovat of the ancient line tried a curious experiment at catching salmon on the Beaully river at the falls of Kilmorack. He made a fire upon a rock and placed upon it a large kettle of water. Soon a huge salmon, making a leap in the wrong direction, tumbled into the pot where he was speedily boiled. His lordship is said to have boasted of this incident as among the wonders of his Highland home.

THE STORY OF WOLFE AFTER THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

After the battle of Culloden, orders were given by the Duke of Cumberland to kill all the wounded enemy remaining on the field of battle. In carrying out this brutal command, General Hawley, seeing a wounded Scot, wearing the Fraser plaid, leaning against the dyke, instructed the young English officer Wolfe, who accompanied him, to shoot the wounded man. Wolfe replied, "My commission is at your disposal ; I refuse to obey such an order."

When, in the taking of Quebec, General Wolfe was mortally wounded on the Plains of Abraham, it was into the arms of a Fraser that he fell.

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THE FRASERS' POSSESSION OF BEAUFORT

The following charter accounts in part for the Fraser's possession of Beaufort: "David Lindsay of Beaufort, Knight, granted to the noble and powerful Lord Archibald, Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorn, and Master of the Chamber to our supreme Lord the King, to his heirs, etc. . . . All my underwritten lands. . . . These included $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the lands of the two Moys; $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the lands of Eskadale, and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the superiority of all and sundry lands in the lordship of Beaufort, belonging hereditarily to me, with their sundry pertinents lying in the earldom of Moray, and within the sheriffdom of Inverness, for a certain sum of money paid to me in my urgent necessity by the said Lord Earl. Sealed and dated at Inverness the 29th day of the month of January in the year of the Lord, 1497."*

A daughter of the Earl of Argyll married Lord Lovat† and, it is said, conveyed the above mentioned lands to the Frasers.

FRASER HIGHLANDERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Fraser Highlanders fought on American soil during the Revolutionary War and gave many proofs of their valor. They were engaged at Brooklyn Heights, Brandywine and Charleston, S. C. Dr. Colin Chisholm was an eye-witness of the terrible defeat of the Americans under General Horatio Gates at the battle of Camden. A large part of this Highland regiment fell when General Morgan gained his splendid victory over the British Tarleton. It was in this attack against Colonel Howard's reserves that the Highlanders, overpowered, "began to retire and at length to run, the first instance of a Highland regiment running from an enemy!"

The Fraser regiment was with Cornwallis when he surrendered at Yorktown.‡

LEGEND PURPORTING TO SET FORTH THE ORIGIN OF SOMERLED AND HIS DESCENDANTS' SUPPORT OF THE CHURCH

It is perhaps interesting to note that in all Scotland the Church had no more generous patrons and benefactors than the Lords of the Isles, beginning with Somerled, the founder of the House of Isla, to John, the last Celtic Lord of the Isles. There exists a semi-fabulous story to the effect that these generous benefactions to the Church had their inception in an incident connected with one of Somerled's campaigns in the Isle of Man.

The legend is briefly as follows: After defeating his brother-in-law Godred, King of Man, Somerled and his forces occupied the port of Ramsa near which stood the church of St. Machutus which, it was reported to him, held vast stores of treasures. One of the powerful chiefs, Gilcolm by name, learning of these riches, sought from Somerled

*Taken from an article in the *Scottish Highlander*.

†See Clan Chart D.

‡This sketch is based on Professor Brown's *History of the Highlands and Highland Clans*.

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permission to provide food for his army by making a raid upon the cattle belonging to the Church. Somerled at first refused but finally, disclaiming all desire to profit by such a deed, gave a reluctant consent to Gilcolm declaring that on him alone should fall any punishment resulting from such a sacrilegious act. Thereupon the chief departed gleefully, planning to raid the church at dawn the next day.

Rumors of this reached the ears of the clergy and people, and fervent prayers were offered to St. Machutus to protect them and his church from the enemy.

The good saint listened to their supplications; and that night while Gilcolm was asleep in his tent, St. Machutus appeared to him bearing in his hand a pastoral staff. "In what way," he enquired of the chief, "have I done evil to thee or thine that thou art planning to rob my shrine? . . . but this thou shalt not accomplish." Then raising his staff he pierced the chief three times through the heart. The shrieks of the now awakened man aroused his sons to whom he related the visit of the saint and, feeling that he was about to die, he begged them to bring him the clergy from St. Machutus Church that he might obtain absolution for his wicked plot. One of the priests, on his arrival at the bedside prayed that the saint still further punish the chief in order that others might have more reverence for sacred things. Soon, so "great a swarm of huge flies began to buzz about the dying chief's face and mouth that neither he nor his servants could drive them away." Thus Gilcolm's last moments were passed in agony.

Somerled, who had witnessed this scene, fled in terror and departed for his own country where influenced, some historians declare, by the memory of this experience, he determined to found and endow a church. At any rate it is probable that the erection of the Saddell monastery was begun during his lifetime and further endowed by his son Reginald and his grandson Donald. Of this structure "only part of the gable transept and the aperture for a window remain." Macdonald in *Clan Donald* states that Somerled's tomb within the arched recess in the south wall of the choir is still pointed out. "The sculpture represents him as wearing a high pointed headpiece, a tippet of mail hanging over the neck and shoulders, and the body clad to the knees with a skirt scored with lines to represent folds. The right hand is raised to the shoulders, while the left clasps a two-handed sword." The inscription on the slab is undecipherable.

It was Somerled's son Reginald who restored the abbey church of Iona, and Somerled's daughter Beatrice who became prioress of the convent established by Reginald for an order of Benedictine nuns.*

SOMERLED'S STRATEGY TO OBTAIN A BRIDE AND AN ALLIANCE WITH THE KING OF MAN

Somerled, wishing ultimately to control the Isles and the Isle of Man, conceived the idea of forming a strong alliance with Olave, King of Man, by marrying his beautiful daughter Ragnhilda. The story goes that at one time when Olave was encamped on Loch Storna, Somerled came to the other side of the loch and offered to aid Olave in

*This sketch is based on the *Chronicle of Man* and Macdonald's *Clan Donald*, vol. I.

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his expedition provided the latter would bestow upon him the hand of his daughter Ragnhilda. This request was refused; however, Somerled decided to follow Olave. In the King of Man's company was his foster brother, Maurice MacNeill, who was a friend of Somerled. In the interest of his friend, Maurice bored holes in Olave's ship below the water-line and "made a pin for each hole, overlaying the holes with tallow and butter." When Olave set out to sea, his ship sprang a leak, the tossing of the ship on the waves having cast the tallow and butter out of the holes. He appealed to Somerled for help. Maurice assured him of aid from this quarter if he would accept Somerled as a son-in-law. Being in danger of his life, Olave consented and soon found safety on Somerled's galley, while Maurice stopped the leaks on the Norwegian vessel with the pins he had prepared.*

THE STRATAGEM OF SOMERLED

Having been appointed chief in command to lead the men of Argyll against the Norwegian usurpers, Somerled, realizing the strength of the opposing foe, resorted to strategy. His men were encamped on an eminence on the east side of Benmore. Each man was ordered to secure the skin of a cow, then they were commanded to march around the elevation which lay within sight of the enemy. Immediately following this maneuver, they were to don the hides of the cows and parade as before; then they were to reverse the cowhides and for the third time go through the same movement, "thus exhibiting to the enemy a strong force composed of three divisions." The Scandinavians, believing they were about to be attacked by a formidable army, fled in a panic to their ships; closely pursued by Somerled and his forces.†

CEREMONY OF PROCLAIMING THE LORDS OF THE ISLES

In Hugh Macdonald's MS. there is an interesting account of the rather unique manner in which the Lords of the Isles‡ were proclaimed. It is described as follows: At this ceremony "the Bishop of Argyle, the Bishop of the Isles and seven priests were sometimes present . . . with the chieftains of all the principal families. . . . There was a square stone, seven or eight feet long and the trace of a man's foot thereon, upon which he, the Lord of the Isles, stood, denoting that he should walk in the footsteps and uprightness of his predecessors and that he was installed by right in his possessions. He was clothed in a white habit to show his innocence and integrity of heart, that he would be a light to his people and maintain the true religion. Then he was to receive a white rod in his hand, intimating that he had power to rule, not with tyranny and partiality, but with discretion and sincerity. Then he received his forefathers' sword, or some other sword, signifying that his duty was to protect and defend his clansmen from the incursions of their enemies in peace and war, as the obligations and customs of his

* This legend is based on the Macdonald MS. 40-41.

† This story is based on Hugh Macdonald's MS. ‡ From Hugh Macdonald's MS. and referred to in *Clan Donald*, vol. I, pp.

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predecessors were. The ceremony being over, mass was said . . . the people pouring their prayer for the success and prosperity of their new created lord. When they were dismissed, the Lord of the Isles feasted them for a week thereafter. . . .”

DONALD BALLOCH, LORD OF DUNNYVEG’S, INVASION OF ATHOLL

One of the results of the treaty of Ardrhorthish was the invasion of Atholl by Donald Balloch Macdonald. The following incident connected with this raid is vouched for by Tytler and other historians, but Macdonald in *Clan Donald* cites the circumstances with many modifications: It seems that the Lord of Dunnyveg, after storming Castle Blair, dragged the Earl and Countess of Atholl, who had sought sanctuary in the chapel of St. Bridget, to a distant prison in Isla. He made, according to Tytler, three unsuccessful attempts to burn this chapel which he had plundered. In the meantime a large number of his war galleys, loaded with sacred loot, were destroyed during a heavy electrical storm. Convinced that the wrath of God had descended upon him for his sacrilegious deeds, he was seized with remorse and “commanded his principal leaders and soldiers to strip to their shirts and drawers and, assuming himself the same ignominious garb, he collected the relicts of his plunder, and proceeding with bare feet to the chapel, which he had lately stained with blood, he and his attendants performed penance before the altar.” The Earl and the Countess of Atholl were at once freed from their prison.*

GLENGARRY’S HEROIC SON

As the Chisholms are so closely connected with the Macdonalds, especially the Glengarry branch, the account of young Glengarry’s heroism, taken from the *Celtic Magazine* of 1876 may be of interest: The men of Glengarry were a fine race of men. For real courage and bravery few in the Highlands could excel them. The story of young “Glen” exhibits, perhaps, the finest example of single-handed daring ever recorded in the annals of the Highlands. Old Glengarry was very unpopular with the northern chiefs because of his many spoliations and raids into their territory. Although on account of his advanced age he was unable to lead his clan, few of the neighboring chiefs dared attack him unaided.

Mackenzie of Kintail, wishing to avenge some special offence done him by Macdonald, spread the report among the nearby chiefs that Glengarry was planning to take them by surprise and annihilate them. This being the case, it was necessary for them to unite for mutual protection and together extinguish the hateful author of this scheme, root and branch. Mackenzie invited them all to assemble at a great council in Eileandonnan Castle to discuss the plans for action and, entering into a solemn league, swear on the “raven’s cross” to exterminate Glengarry and his race.

Rumors of this conspiracy reached the ears of old Glengarry, who realized the fu-

*This episode is based on Tytler’s *Scotland*, vol. *donalds*.
II, p. 112, and Mackenzie’s *History of the Mac-*

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tility of holding out against the combined power and influence of these chiefs. All his affections were centered upon his only surviving son, whom he urged to flee from the land of his fathers until the danger was past. He also called his clan together and, freeing them from all allegiance to himself, implored them to save themselves in flight. One and all spurned the idea of leaving their chief alone in his old age, exclaiming that they preferred "Death itself to shame and dishonor." To the surprise of all, however, the son, dressed in his best garb and heavily armed, after bidding his father an affectionate farewell, fled to the hills amid the contemptuous sneers of his brave retainers. But he was no sooner out of sight than he directed his course to Lochduich, determined to attend the great council at Eileandonnan Castle.

Arriving in the district on the appointed day, and disguising himself in a fine Mackenzie tartan plaid, with which he had provided himself, he passed the outer gate of the stronghold with the usual salutation, "Who is welcome here?" To which the unsuspecting guard replied, "Any but a Macdonnell." Admitted to the great hall, he carefully scanned the brilliant assembly of chiefs who, as they entered, stuck their dirks in the table before them as a sign of their unswerving resolution to rid the world of their hated enemy. Young Glengarry coolly walked to the head of the table, where the chief of Kintail presided, threw off his disguise, seized Mackenzie by the throat, drew out his glittering dagger and, holding it against the heart of his foe, exclaimed in a voice whose determined accents struck terror into every breast, "Mackenzie, if you or any of your assembled guests make the slightest move, as I live, by the great Creator of the universe, I will instantly pierce you to the heart." Mackenzie, well knowing by the appearance of the youth and his commanding tone that the threat would be instantly executed if the conditions were not obeyed, cried out, "My friends, for the love of God, stir not lest I perish at the hands of my inveterate foe at my own table!" The appeal was hardly necessary for sudden fear so held them that they sat gazing vacantly at each other. "Now," said the youth, "lift up your hands to Heaven and swear by the ship, the salmon, and the bloody hand that you will never again molest my father nor any of his clan." The dazed chiefs took the oath as directed.

"Swear now," continued the young hero, "all ye around this table, that I may depart from here and be permitted to return home unmolested by you or your retainers." To this the chiefs again took oath. Thereupon, Glengarry released his hold on Mackenzie's throat, sheathed his dirk and prepared to take his departure, but so great was the admiration of the chiefs for his courage that they prevailed upon him to remain at the feast and spend the night with those who but a short time before had assembled to plan the destruction of his race.

LEGEND OF KING RICHARD II AND MARGERY BISSET

There is a story to the effect that the deposed Richard II of England—at whose court John Mor Macdonald had been a frequent visitor—escaped from Pontefract Castle where he was generally believed to have died of starvation and arrived one day at Isla. Disguised as a beggar he entered the servants' quarters of the residence of Donald, Lord of the Isles, at Finlaggan.

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John Mor, with his wife Margery Bisset, was a guest of his brother Donald at the time. Lady Margery, chancing to see the royal traveller in his humble disguise, at once recognized him, having met King Richard on his second visit to Ireland. "Her recognition of him proved the means of obtaining shelter and protection for him at the Scottish Court until his death."*

THE PRIDE OF THE MACDONALDS

The descendants of the haughty Lords of the Isles long retained their proud spirit. The following incident, cited by Robert Forsythe in his *Beauties of Scotland*, will serve as an illustration. "One of the Macdonalds happening to be in Ireland was invited to an entertainment given by the Lord Lieutenant." It so chanced that being among the last to arrive he seated himself at the foot of the table. The Lord Lieutenant requested him to sit beside him. Macdonald, who spoke no English, asked, "What says the Earl?" "He bids you move to the head of the table," was the reply. "Tell the Earl, that wherever Macdonald sits, *that* is the head of the table."

The Macdonalds were celebrated for their hospitality and no less generosity. The favor of a night's lodging or a single meal was often rewarded by the gift of a farm.

JOHN GRANT, 3RD OF GLENMORISTON AND HIS HIGHLAND CANDLESTICKS

The following story had its inception with the local seanachies of Glenmoriston. It is repeated by Doctor Mackay in his *Urquhart and Glenmoriston* and the tradition as here related is taken from his recital of the circumstances.

It seems that at one time while John Grant, Iain Mor a' Chaistel, was on a visit to London, some one in his presence sneeringly referred to the "fir-candles" of his native Glen. Thereupon the Laird of Glenmoriston challenged the scoffer "to produce in London a more elegant candlestick or more brilliant lights than he could bring from his Highland estate." The challenge was accepted and Grant dispatched a servant with a message to a certain Glenmoriston bard, "distinguished alike for his wit and manly beauty."

On the day appointed, "Ian Mor's opponent appeared with a magnificent silver candelabrum furnished with the finest of wax candles. Glenmoriston had no such work of art to show; but on a given signal the bard stepped into the chamber, dressed in Highland garb, and held aloft blazing torches of the richest pines of Corri-Dho. The effect on the astonished spectators was even greater than the proud Glenmoriston had ventured to hope," and he was enthusiastically acclaimed victor.

*The facts upon which this story is based are given in Fordun's *Goodal*, also *Rotuli Scotiae*, and are supported by Mackenzie in his *History of the Macdonalds*, Hill's *Macdonells of Antrim*, and Macdonald's *Clan Donald*, vol. II.



